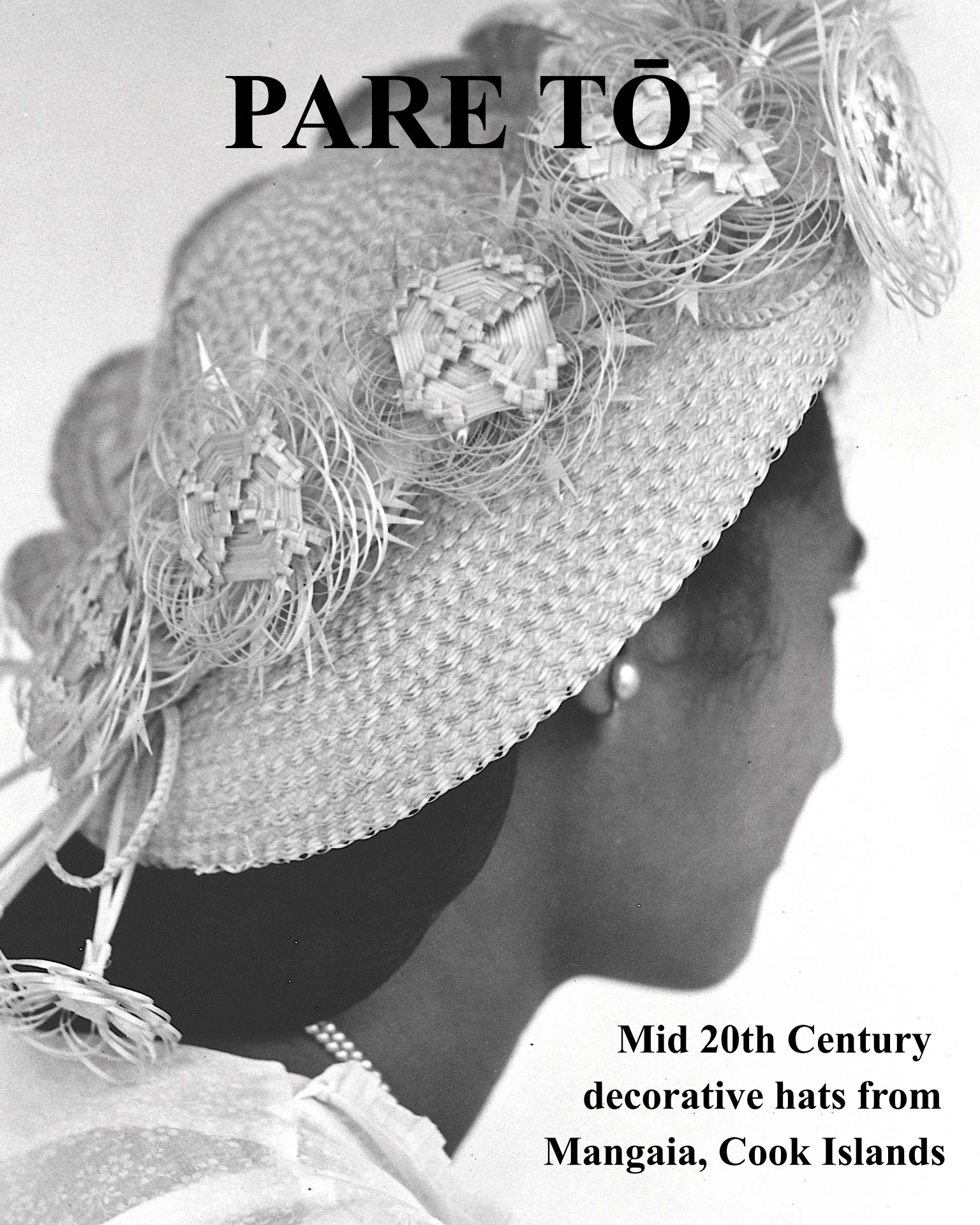


PARE TŌ



**Mid 20th Century
decorative hats from
Mangaia, Cook Islands**

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Mangaian Cultural and Historical Society
Mangaia, 2022

Contents

Acknowledgements

Preface

1. Introduction
2. Raw materials
3. Harvesting kāka‘o
4. Stripping and bleaching kāka‘o
5. The 'uapou and new hat designs
6. Ta'unga Rāranga Pare - Expert Hat Makers
7. To'e pare - hat blocks
8. Hat-making
9. Social and cultural significance
10. Pare Collections
 - Auckland Museum
 - The Marshall Collection
 - Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington
 - Cook Islands public and private collections
11. Pare tane - men's hats
12. A vocabulary of hats and hat-making

Appendix 1 - The Teka Game at Mangaia

*Appendix 2 - Using sulphur in hat-making in
England in 1806*

13. References

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Principal authorities for this book

Top right - Mrs. Tangatakerekere Ruato'e (Mama Tako)

Bottom right - Mrs. Teremoana Tangianau Tutu (Mama Tere)

Below - Mrs. Metuamaru Gallagher



(Photos - Allan Tuara)

Preface

Pare Tō: Mid 20th Century Decorative Hats from Mangaia, Cook Islands is a publication that collates community memories, retrieves knowledge, and revives a history that was at the edge of recollection, with ta'unga raranga pare at the heart of it.

When Mira Marshall first contacted Auckland Museum in August 2021, she used the museum's web browser-based enquiry system. At times it can be a bit random as to which curator it allocates queries to, but the message eventually found its way to me. Mira was offering a gift of 27 hats that had been in her family's possession since 1957 when the family had been living on the island of Mangaia in the Cook Islands. Mira's father was Donald S Marshall, an American anthropologist and photographer who had been conducting research on Mangaia with his young family and wife Shirley.

When they were packing to leave and return to America, Shirley and the children were gifted numerous hats by women from the districts of puna Veitātei, puna Kei'ā and puna Tava'enga. A zip file attached to the email contained images of the hats laid out around Mira's home in Washington, DC. They were overwhelming. Their graphic power and the assured skill of the makers leapt out at me, followed by the ways in which the hats or pare in tara Mangaia, combined contemporary style with a Mangaian perspective through materials, motifs, colour and pattern. The pare were not just Mangaian versions of similar hats from western contexts, it was that their unique expression elevated those familiar designs from the 1950s. There was a conversation between Mangaian hat makers and the Euro American fashion world that transcended Western paradigms and expectations.

Mira and her family's approach to Auckland Museum was intended to place the fragile pare in a collection where they could be conserved, stored, and made accessible. That there are large communities of Cook Islands people in Tāmaki Makaurau and in other parts of Aotearoa was a major consideration.

Through Timothy Jones and Vaine-Tutai Parima Trego at Te Puna Vai Marama – Cook Islands Centre for Research, I was put in touch with Rod Dixon the former Director of the University of the South Pacific (Cook Islands) who lives at Aremauku on Mangaia. I shared Mira's images with him and the Mangaia Historical and Cultural Society, at first only hoping they could help decipher and identify the faded signatures inside the crowns of some of the pare.

One of Rod Dixon's early email replies to me, recounted how he bumped into Mrs Gallagher (née

Atariki) at the shop in Oneroa Village and a conversation they had about the kāka‘o reed used in making the pare. They discussed its preparation, and how the generation of pare designs were a part of the April and Christmas ‘uapou, and an expression of inter-puna rivalry which in turn was a stimulus for innovation. From this conversation Rod became, as he said: ‘quite energetic about the idea of a small book on Mangaian hats of the 1950s’. Four months and two hundred plus pages later here it is, exceeding any ideas Rod first had about a ‘booklet’.

Compiling this book has been a way for communities, families, institutions, and individuals to work together and connect across time zones, histories and distance, to share resources and value the knowledges and lifeways inherent in these magnificent pare. In this volume the Mangaian Writer’s Group have historicised pare from the earliest missionary arrivals in the Cook Islands, an invaluable contextualization that traces the impact of inward and outward flows of people, commodities, and concepts in Mangaia. They show how contemporaneous ideas can be transmitted and adapted and integrated through the lens of the pare and how the social structures in Mangaia are generative of innovation but also in dialogue with the world outside of Mangaia. More importantly, the genius of the pare is not just apparent in their making and the expertise of ta‘unga raranga pare but also in their ability to manifest a world with tangata Mangaia, at the centre.

It has been a pleasure to be a part of this collaboration and witness the recovery and documentation of an aspect of material culture in Mangaia and conserve the stories and names of women whose creativity and contribution can now be recognised and celebrated.

Dr Andrea Low (no Tongareva e Vai‘ī, e ‘Āmoa, e Vītī, e Tēkōtia)
Associate Curator Contemporary World
Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum

Introduction

1. Introduction

In November 1817, on first landing at Eimeo [Mo'orea] in the Society Islands, the London Missionary Society (LMS) evangelist, Rev. John Williams noted "It was pleasing to see so many fine looking females, dressed in white native cloth, and their heads decorated with white flowers, and cocoanut leaves plaited in the shape of the front of a cottage bonnet...." (Prout, 1842; 35).

Rev. William Ellis, accompanying Williams, qualified his companion's remarks on the women's head wear as "a kind of bonnet, or, rather, shade for the eyes made of the leaves of the coconut in a variety of forms, many of them tasteful and elegant.... It was worn on the forehead immediately below the hair and fastened by a narrow leaflet passing round the back of the head, above each of the ears, leaving the whole of the back and upper part of the head entirely exposed." It was called 'taupoo' or 'taumata' – a cover for the eyes (Ellis, 1831; Vol. 2; 399; see also Buck, 1944; 79 and 63, Fig.26) The Mangaian term is pare tamaru.

Ellis dates the adoption and local manufacture of more distinctively European-style bonnets and hats to the "spring of 1820", initially on Ra'iātea under the instruction of the missionary wives Mary Williams and Martha Threlkeld. Williams provides an earlier date noting how "working neat bonnets" had been his wife's "employment ever since she landed [in 1818]. She has taught them to make very respectable bonnets of native materials, which the ladies of England would not despise". [1] Ellis describes the first hats as made from the bast of the purau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). [2]

The fashion for European hats spread to the mission station at Huahine, on the initiative of "several of the chief women" who were instructed in the art by the missionary wives Mary Mercy Ellis and Sarah Barff. Here, "the hats and bonnets were first made from the inner bark of the slender branches of the purau *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or the leaves of a fine species of rush. The former was beautifully white, while the latter was of a yellow colour, and much more firm and durable, on which account it was preferred for hats" [3] (Ellis, 1831; Vol. 2; 401-2).

Ellis lists the following plant materials used in early hat making on Huahine - "not only with the leaves of the mau [4] and the bark of the purau, but of the fine white layers of the inside of the plaintain stalk, the leaf of the sugar cane, and a strong and beautiful species of fine grass"

[1] Williams, quoted in Prout 1842; 75

[2] Ellis, 1831; Vol. 2; 400. Neil Gunson (1978; 275) writes that "Mrs. [Hannah] Crook was probably responsible for introducing the art of bonnet making, as in March 1821 she was giving lesson to the [Tahitian] royal women 'in sewing a bonnet' - but Williams and Ellis's accounts date the introduction to between one and three years earlier at Ra'iātea.

[3] No direct reference is made to use of the kākā'o ('a' ēho in Tahitian) in hat-making.

[4] Perhaps mau'u or in Mangaia mauku - a general name for grass, e.g., mauku-taravao, (taravao grass); mauku-vai (water grass); mauku-oniani (onion grass)



The presentation of Rarotongan 'god staffs' (images of Tangaroa) to the missionaries; (at centre) Mary Williams in contemporary bonnet, Rarotonga, 1827 (Journal of Civilization, 16 October, 1841)

(1831; Vol. 2; 403). The bonnets were, he noted, "either sewn together or woven throughout after the manner of Leghorns." [1]

Johnston writes that early hat-making in Tahiti made use of "a species of grass adopted to this purpose" also "the Purou [purau, hibiscus] bark plaited or sword grass, or some other plant or grass" (2000; 116), while Rev. John Williams notes that in Tonga, the Tahitian teachers' wives "made use of the leaf of the sugar cane which abounds at Tonga, as well as the Society Islands.....The Tonga females will for the future with the assistance of Mrs Turner & Mrs Cross be able to make bonnets for themselves of the leaves of the sugar cane having witnessed all the process of making the [Tongan] Queen's by the Tahitian females" (Williams, 1984; 57).

Of equal importance to the early Christian converts was the decorative band that adorned each hat. Ellis notes of the Society Islanders in the 1820s, "They had observed that the wives and daughters of the Missionaries, however plain their dress, wore a riband and strings to their bonnets, and they had often observed a greater profusion of trimmings attached to those worn by the wives of the captains, or the female passengers, in any of the vessels that touched at the islands; they therefore imagined that in point of improvement they might almost as well appear without a bonnet, as with one destitute of these appendages" (1831; Vol. 2; 402). [2]

In 1821 Rev. John Williams extended the diocese of the Society Islands' mission to include the southern Cook Islands commencing at Aitutaki, followed by Ngaputuru, then Rarotonga and Mangaia in 1824. The introduction of hats and bonnets followed soon after.

The first missionaries on Aitutaki were two single men, Vahapata from Ra'iātea and Papehia from Bora Bora (trained by Williams at Ra'iātea). It was from these two men that the Aitutakians first learned to make European style hats. When Williams visited Aitutaki for the second time in 1823, he was only convinced to land after the Aitutakians "pointed to their hats to convince us of their faith" [3]. "The European shaped hat was worn only by the Christian party, the idolators retaining their heathen head-dresses, war-caps, etc" (Williams, 1838; 59).

The quality of bonnet making on Aitutaki subsequently improved with the location of the Ra'iātean and Borabora missionaries Paumoana and Mataitai and their wives on the island [4] with

[1] Leghorn bonnets were made in Tuscany from the fine plait of a variety of wheat, *Triticum vulgare*; cut green, and bleached, it was exported from Livorno, Italy (known as Leghorn in English).

[2] However, it seems the ribands, initially made from cotton prints, had to be unique to each wearer. Rev. Charles Pitman, the LMS missionary at Ngatangia, Rarotonga, recorded in his *Journal* for 25 October, 1827 that "if the bonnet of another is trimmed like that of the Chief's wife, it is not esteemed of any value.... It was the same with the Chief's wife at Raiatea. Mrs Pitman sold her a good riband, but because she sold an under chief or two some of the same, she would not put it in her bonnet."

[3] Rev. John Williams, South Seas Letters, 1 October, 1823, SOAS Box 4, Folder 2, Jacket B

[4] (ibid.) Paumoana and his family were resident at Aitutaki from 1825-33 and Mataitai and his family from 1823-38. Vahapata remained at Aitutaki after Papehia left in 1823.

the Rev. Robert Bourne reporting that "The female teachers have taught the women to make good bonnets" (Williams, 1838; 112). Lamont who visited Aitutaki in 1853, remarked on the "neat straw hats of their own manufacture. Many [men] carry some of these in their hands offering them for sale to the visitors" (Lamont, 1867; 98).

In 1823, the missionaries Oupa, Tehei and Tutiu from Borabora, with their wives and children, were located at Atiu by Rev. John Orsmond [1], and several months later Revs. Williams and Bourne landed Ha'avi and Teremu and their wives (from Taha'a) at Mauke and Taua'a and Avaeino and their wives (also from Taha'a) at Mitiaro. [2] It was from these teachers and their wives that the Ngaputoru people learned European hat and bonnet making for the first time. In 1825 Captain George Anson Byron of H.M.S. *Blonde* visited Mauke and reported his surprise at meeting a man wearing "a straw hat shaped like a common English hat" (Byron, 1826;207).

In the pre-missionary period, European hats and hat-making had become familiar to Rarotongans from periodic ships' visits. Maretu records that Tuaivi of Ngatangia "made a hat similar to a European hat and when Makea Karika [ariki] found out about it, he too made one like it for himself" (Maretu, 1983; 50). Maretu also writes of a cocked hat (pare kota'a) featured in a Rarotongan prophecy predicting the imminent arrival of Europeans to the island (1983; 50).

The first to formally teach European style bonnet making to the Rarotongans were, as on Aitutaki, two men, Papeiha and Tiberio (from Ra'iātea). Rev. John Williams noted that they were not particularly skilled in the art - "Although the teachers were both single men, they had taught them to make bonnets; but I must add that their taste in forming the shape did not admit of equal commendation... These deficiencies, however, were supplied [remedied] by Mrs. [Elizabeth] Pitman [3] and Mrs. [Mary] Williams who made some hundreds of bonnets and rendered many of the natives proficient in the art" (1838;166).

William Gill (1856; 96) describes the Rarotongan bonnets as made of "finely wrought plait and neatly trimmed with foreign ribbons.... Most of [the men] have strong rush hats for common use and finer ones for occasional service...."

[1] Davies, 1961; 315-6. In 1829, Oupa was relocated to Aitutaki (George Platt, Voyage from Borabora to Hervey Islands, 18 December, 1829 – 02 March, 1830, SOAS, File 98, Box 6).

[2] Rev. Robert Bourne, South Seas Letters, 20 September, 1823, SOAS Box 4, Folder 1, Jacket B. According to Williams, only Taua'a and his wife were located at Mitiaro (1823-42) and Ha'avi and his wife at Mauke (1823-53) (Robert Bourne and John Williams, Voyage to Hervey Islands, 4 July 1823 - 7 August 1823, SOAS File 67, Box 5; 25, 27). Of the original Atiuan teachers, only Tehei remained after 1823 (until 1836), with support from Maratai (1823-31).

[3] Charles and Elizabeth Pitman were LMS missionaries at Ngatangia, Rarotonga from 1827 to 1855. Writing a few months after her arrival Elizabeth noted that "Since the introduction of the Gospel, they have learned to make bonnets plaited of the leaf of a tree. I have made several for them. A strip of print [coloured cloth] answers the purposes of ribbon." Elizabeth Pitman, Letter to LMS Directors, 12 December, 1827, SOAS, Box 6, Folder 4, Jacket B. See also Pitman, 1827; 80.

Visiting Mangaia in 1830, Williams "was delighted with the appearance they [the Mangaian converts] presented; the females being dressed in beautifully white cloth, which Fa'aruea, the teacher's wife from Ra'iātea, had taught them to make, and in bonnets of their own manufacture whilst the men wore their tiputa with the addition of a straw hat" (1838; 212).

Fa'aruea and his wife arrived at Mangaia in 1829, but an earlier influence on Mangaian hat-making may have been the wife of the Aitutaki pastor Mataitai who arrived at Mangaia on a drift canoe from Aitutaki with Tupu Ariki in October 1827. [1]

The apparel of the Christian converts, who were known as 'au tangata kai parau' or 'the people under Bible instruction' caused some jealousy among the unconverted, (known as 'au tangata tūtae 'āuri' [2]). Williams records a conversation with the wife of an unconverted Mangaian chief who "when she compared herself with the Christian females, she was much ashamed, for they had bonnets and beautiful white garments, while she was dressed in 'Satan's clothes'" (1838; 258).

'Satan's clothes' included, among its head wear on Mangaia, the tārae – a wreath of flowers and leaves for the head [3]; the pare tamaru – an eyeshade made of plaited coconut leaves; 'turbans' made of white tapa wrapped around the head as observed by Captain Cook in 1777 (Beaglehole; 1967; 81); the pare kura (sacred crimson feathered headdress); the pare kota'a (headdress made of the dried skin of the kota'a or frigate bird [4]) and the pare piki. William Wyatt Gill describes the latter on Mangaia –

"Two grand head dresses were made of feathers. The shape was conical, and bore the name of pare piki Captain Cook refers to these head dresses of gay feathers interwoven with fine sennit.[5] The finishing touch was the insertion of a number of the long red tail feathers of the tropic bird" (Gill, 1894; 27).

[1] George Platt, Voyage from Borabora to Hervey Islands, 18 December, 1829 – 02 March, 1830, SOAS, File 98, Box 6. As Mataitai had remarried, supposing Mataitai va'ine to have been lost at sea, she elected to remain in Mangaia to assist Faaruea and his wife in their mission work.

[2] Tūtae 'āuri is literally 'iron excrement' (i.e. rust) and figuratively, 'those convicted of breaking the law.' According to Rev. Aaron Buzzacott, "Tūtae 'āuri, rusty-iron gang, (is a name given by some of themselves to the native convicts, after having seen the convicts of New South Wales working on the road with chains of rusty iron on their legs)." Letter to Sydney Morning Herald, 1 March, 1859. "Rusty iron gang" would be pupu tūtae 'āuri or aronga tūtae 'āuri. Taoi Nooroa (pers.comm, 2022) prefers the comparison of the unconverted Mangaian to the lagoon fish tūtae 'āuri (Yellowspot Emperor) that lie motionless in aggregations in the lagoon.

[3] Literally, "forehead shade". Originally, it was cap-like and did not encompass the whole of the head, like the contemporary flower tārae or Rarotongan 'ei katu.

[4] Savage, 1962; 237 – alternatively, an ex-tempore head cover made of the leaves of the kota'a or birds nest fern (Shibata, 1999; 203).

[5] Cook refers to "head caps, probably of their own manufacture, richly ornamented, and encircled with party-coloured plumage" (Cook, 1781; 84).

Ellis notes of the Society Islands how, with “the introduction of Christianity, the use of flowers in the hair, and fragrant oil, has in a great degree been discontinued – partly from the connexion of those ornaments with the evil practice to which they were formerly addicted, and partly from the introduction of European caps and bonnets, the latter being now universally worn” (1831, Vol. 1; 136). The use of natural flowers as a hat band still remains rare in Cook Islands churches.[1]

Maretu records that, following their conversion, the Takitumu people of Rarotonga, "made pare kura and pare kota'a from articles taken from the idols" (1983; 62) suggesting the symbolic victory of Christianity over 'paganism'.

This was certainly how the missionaries to the Cook Islands narratively presented the adoption of bonnets and hats - as signs of the success of the 'civilizing mission' of Christianity as well as a means of creating 'industry' among island people.



The 'coal scuttle' bonnet was a common design adopted by early Christian converts in the Cook Islands – “such as was wont to be seen upon some workhouse paupers and old charwomen in London some thirty years ago.” Braided straw bonnet circa 1830. (Photo - Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.78-1963).

In 1853, Rev. William Gill, resident missionary at Rarotonga, sent a pare tō to Queen Victoria together with a memorandum detailing “the state in which Rarotongans were, before Missionaries landed upon their shores, and the great change which, by God’s blessing, they had brought about amongst them.” Gill notes that the women on Rarotonga “had learned to make a very beautiful plait from the stalk of the sugar-cane [tō] and, a short time ago, Mrs. Gill had a bonnet made of this plait and sent it to Queen Victoria begging her to accept it for the Princess Royal.” The Queen responded that she was “happy to encourage the industry of these poor native women of Rarotonga by ordering a large quantity of the sugar-cane plait, which her Majesty would have made up in this country.” [2]

[1] Early missionaries spoke of flowers and berry garlands "scenting people for bad purposes" e.g. (Pitman, 1831; 74).

[2] *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, 1853, Vol.10: 140-141. In this case the variety of tō (a generic term for sugar cane) used was probably kāka'o - see below.

Rev, William Gill was writing at perhaps the high-water mark of evangelical influence on taste and fashion in the Cook Islands, at least outside the context of worship

In 1870, the Earl of Pembroke visiting Rarotonga, was highly critical of female church-goers in their “detestable waisted European garments, with vulgar and tawdry hats and feathers, which utterly destroyed all their native ease and grace. Where on earth did the earlier missionaries pick up the curious idea of the necessary identity of piety and ugliness” (Herbert and Kingsley, 1872; 153).

In 1871, Australian and New Zealand newspapers were also carrying openly critical accounts of life in the Cook Islands under missionary rule, not least the ‘hideous masquerade as is the costume which [the] missionary and his wife have enforced upon the miserables who are subject to their rule.’”



"Leaving church, Tahiti" wearing bonnets and carrying parasols and testaments - from Journal des Voyages et des aventures de terre et de mer, 1 January, 1880.

“Imagine a shoeless woman,” the article continued, “clothed in a brown smock of the fashion of a bed gown with long sleeves; her throat, with the thermometer at 100 degrees, swathed in a spotted cotton handkerchief; an enormous yellow bonnet trimmed with red, of such great size as to measure more than two feet in diameter, of the fashion of a coal-scuttle (such as was wont to be seen upon some workhouse paupers and old charwomen in London some thirty years ago), decorated with rosettes of red and blue paper and a jackdaw's nest of coloured rags. (No natural flowers, be it observed, as fine or imprisonment is the penalty for wearing them). Add to this a

green cotton umbrella under one arm, a huge Bible, a hymn-book, and commentary on the Book of Leviticus under the other, and you have a faithful picture of a vaine Ekalesia, or female Christian, of Wytootakee [Aitutaki]. I have no doubt many will think this sketch exaggerated, but it is not. The costume I have described is the 'regulation uniform' as bylaw established on the Isle of Wytootakee, and such other branch missions as have been from thence propagated" (*Master Mariner*', 1871b).

As the Cook Islands became more regularly visited for provisions by whalers and traders and as Cook Island men began to travel widely as ships' crews, interest in locally produced bonnets gave way to a demand for hats and other appareil in contemporary overseas styles. [1]

In 1859 the Rev Aaron Buzacott noted that, of the money earned by Cook Islanders from providoring, "the greater part is spent in purchasing goods from American vessels, small traders which trade among the islands, and resident merchants, such as cotton prints, blue stout, silks, hats, bonnets, shawls, umbrellas, &c., &c." (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 March, 1859).

By the 1870's a revolution in fashion was building momentum, as the then Resident Missionary at Rarotonga, James Chalmers observed - "Dress is regulated by law. Bright colours in dress must never be seen, but young women with an eye to the future are now purchasing and storing away in their chests gay and gaudy dresses, ribbons and hats hoping for the time to come when they can display them in public without fear" (Chalmers, 1875).



Mangaia, 1900 – 'Steamer' jerseys and straw sailor hats or 'boaters' became fashionable for men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. "The P. & O. line—the Union S.S. Co. of New Zealand—the Shaw, Savill and Albion—the Orient—Burns Philp—were all represented (so far as caps and jerseys went)." (Grimshaw, 1907; 136). (Photo - Turnbull Library, 97373.5).

[1] This is not to say that the missionaries themselves were oblivious to contemporary fashion - Rev John Williams, writing from Ra'iātea to his sister in London, in January 1830 noted - "If collars are worn, not dog collars, but collars for ladies, you are requested to send two or three..... provided *it be in fashion*" (original emphasis) (Prout, 1842; 205).

And in 1871, a visitor to Rarotonga observed “...(T)he fact of many of the men having visited Tahiti, and even Sydney and Auckland and brought back accounts of the habits and attire of the Europeans in those places has caused a revolution in the sumptuary laws of Rarotonga. Everyone wears now what he or she pleases, and they go the whole hog as far as their means will permit; the snuff-coloured smocks and green cotton umbrellas, and hideous coal-scuttle bonnets of the early missionary regime, are consigned to the limbo of forgotten absurdities, and the people have made a stampede in the opposite direction.” (*Master Mariner*’ 1871a).

In the 1870s, Opura, the husband of Upokotakau (Mere Pa Ariki), might be seen promenading around Ngatangia, Rarotonga, wearing “a red Crimean shirt and blue trousers and a broad felt hat. Over his shoulder was slung a courier-bag with a brass lock, and a large double spy glass in a shagreen (untanned skin) case” (*Master Mariner*’, 1871 a). Opura’s costume was, at the time, popular wear among Australia’s gold diggers and New Zealand station hands.

Opura’s ‘nephew’ was even more fashionably dressed. Described as “a young man of very light olive complexion and handsome features.... he was dressed en militaire in blue pantaloons with a red stripe, a scarlet Garibaldi shirt, profusely stitched over the breast and shoulders with gilt lace, and a three-cornered felt hat fringed with feathers.” At the time, the tricorn had been superseded by the bicorn hat in most militaries and was more raffishly associated with the American revolution and piracy.



With annexation of the Cook Islands by New Zealand, bemedaled uniforms, sashes and cocked hats with ostrich plumes came into vogue - Te Au Ariki, Mauke, c.1914. (Photo - George Crummer, Te Papa Tongarewa, C.003102).

Not only ariki family members, but Rarotongan men generally could be observed at Sunday service “en grande tenue [in full dress], that is to say, in shirts and breeches of the most glorious dyes, covered with brass buttons, Dutch metal [imitation gold leaf], scraps of lace, cock's feathers, epaulettes of cotton or painted wood, belts and bandoliers, swords when they can afford them, and facsimiles in various material of every military head-piece, from the St. Helena foraging cap to the cocked-hat of a Commodore, or the Crown of the Emperor Napoleon” (*Master Mariner*, 1871a).

The eclectic nature of local dress was in evidence when the Earl of Pembroke, visiting Rarotonga in 1870, was entertained by a group of male dancers wearing “a gorgeous head-dress compounded apparently of a mixture of the popular idea of the hat of the late Guido Fawkes, the grenadiers’ cap of the early Georges, with a slight suspicion of the tiara of the Pope of Rome” (Herbert and Kingsley, 1872; 164).

Women’s fashions were equally colourful. Visiting Mangaia in 1904, the Irish writer Beartrice Grimshaw, observed that, almost every penny that Mangaians earned from the fresh fruit trade was “spent in trade-finery.... On Sundays, the churches are a very flower-garden of frippery, the men turning out in the most brilliant of shirts, ties, and suits, the women decking themselves in long loose robes of muslin, sateen, or cheap silk, coloured in the most screaming hues—pea-green, royal blue, scarlet, and orange being all strong favourites. Their hats, made by themselves out of silky arrowroot fibre [1], are often trimmed with the costliest ribbons and artificial flowers, and even with ostrich plumes to the value of two or three pounds” (1907; 146).

“It is somewhat puzzling,” Grimshaw continued, “to see several entire families got up in the same extraordinary style, unless you know the reason, which is, that these various households have joined together in a club, putting all the money they have made into one purse, and sending it down to Auckland on their own account for a bale of gorgeous clothing, all alike. Thus you will see twenty or thirty women, on a Sunday morning, dressed alike in robes of vermilion satinette, and wearing huge hats, crowned by three ostrich feathers, red, yellow, and blue, arranged after the fashion of the Prince of Wales’s crest. This is one of the clubs, and there are sure to be others that vie with them in startling attire” (1907; 146).

The women whom Grimshaw observed “dressed alike” were, in fact, displaying the colours and hat designs of their puna [island district], vying with other puna, in the manner described in more detail in Section 5 below.

In its performative aspect, the wearing of hats in church, at ‘uapou [Bible studies] and at other

[1] This was the indigenous Pia Māori or Polynesian Arrowroot (*Tacca leontopetaloides*) which according to Whistler (1990:389) was used not only to produce pia or starch but “The stem fibres were formerly used to make hats.”



(Above) Mangaia 1900 – 'boater' hats predominate among men, women and children awaiting the arrival of the New Zealand Governor, Lord Ranfurly. (Photo - Turnbull Library, PA Series I:f:14, Hill Trevor II Album; C16789); (Below) Mangaia, 1909 – Visit of New Zealand Governor Lord Plunkett - 'boaters' decorated with flower garlands - definitely not suitable, at the time, as church wear. (Photo - Auckland Weekly News, 15 July 1909; Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections AWNS-19090715-2-2).





*Māgians wearing brimmed cloche hats outside Oneroa church, c. 1930
(Photo - Sylvester M. Lambert Papers. MSS 682. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego).*

puna events, visually displayed the identity of the wearers as members of the Ekalesia and members of the puna, as did hat and dress making which, as Grimshaw observed, was a collective [puna] rather than individual enterprise (see Section 8). In the same way that 'coal-scuttle' bonnets belonged to one specific era and the “huge hats [made from pia or arrowroot] crowned with ostrich feathers” belonged to another, so the pare tō relates to a specific period of time. From the early 1940s to the mid 1980s, hats made from tō were favoured for church wear and became the focus of inter-puna competition. In design they perhaps owed something to the 'toy' or 'dolls' hats fashionable overseas in the 1930s and 1940s, perched on top, sometimes at a tilt, never completely covering the head.

Enduring as a fashion for around 30 - 40 years, with the requirement that each puna produce two new hat designs a year, the hat experts must have created at least 400 variations in design over the period the hats were in vogue. The majority of those featured below (Section 10) date from the ‘uapou of December and April, 1957-8 (if not, in some cases, slightly earlier) and represent contemporary hat designs of the puna Tava’enga, Kei’ā and Veitātei.

From the mid 1980s, pare tō slowly fell out of fashion as Church hats but continued to be woven as general-purpose hats until the reed itself became marginalized by plantation pine forests. Influenced by trends in Tahiti, the ribbon hat and the raffia hat, both made up from imported materials, replaced them as Church wear – while maintaining some of the aesthetics of the pare tō. These have, in turn, been superseded in the contemporary period, by the rito hat [1].



Pare tō continued to be made as general purpose hats until the plantation pine forest marginalized the kāka ‘o reed in the 1990s (Photo - Whistler, 1990; 360).

[1] The rito hat is woven from the white fibres of the young unfurled centre leaves of the coconut tree - see Gragg, 2015. The pare pāpā (pandanus hat) is an everyday or work hat and generally not considered suitable for Church wear.



*Fashions change. An inflection point with (middle and left) one puna wearing a new hat style, the pare lafia or raffia hat and (right) two other puna wearing pare tō - Oneroa Gospel Day, 1978.
(Photo - Dr Christian Clerk).*

Raw Materials

2. Raw Materials - the Kāka‘o reed



*The kāka‘o reed flowers from January to April, and was harvested during this time to make the pare kāka‘o tō. The reeds grew on the once sparsely vegetated hills of Mangaia. Today the kāka‘o has been marginalized by extensive forest planting. Common names : Fernland Reed, Native Reed, Miscanthus-grass
Traditional names : Kāka‘o (RR MG MK), Kākao (AT), Teka (AK) Scientific Taxonomy : Miscanthus floridulus (Labill.) - (source; Cook Islands Biodiversity Database) (Photo - Allan Tuara).*



Stands of kāka'o reeds visible on puna Kei'ā hill slopes (above, lower left) and (below) on hillsides left, right, and foreground in puna Tava'enga. (Photos - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



Harvesting kāka‘o

The Mangaian calendar

The Mangaian year commenced with the heliacal rising of Matariki (the star cluster of Pleiades) on the eastern horizon just after sunset. The Mangaian calendar had 13 months in order to align the lunar and solar calendars, the 13th month being shortened or omitted as required. As noted below the kākā'o blossomed in the 2nd month of the Mangaian calendar, its flowering ending in the 5th month of the year.

Ereu or summer

(Rain, heat and plenty)

1st month: **Akaū** - chestnut and other trees in blossom

2nd month: **Otunga** - the hills are covered with reeds in blossom

3rd month: **Kautua** - time of floods

4th month: **Akamakuru** - the hurricane month (end of March)

5th month: **Muri'ā'ā** - runga anga kākā'o - the reed blossoms are shed upon the hill by a late blow

6th month: **Uringa** - the leaves of the yam, arrow-root ec, fall

7th month: **Miringa** - the end of the summer season

Parōrō or winter

(Drought, cold and scarcity)

8th month: **Parōrō** - cold south winds withering the wild vines

9th month: **Manu** - the incubation of birds

10th month: **Pipiri** - muffled up inside the house, on account of the cold

11th month: **Kaunuunu** - land crabs emerge

12th month: **Mā'ū** - all plants in leaf

13th month: **Vaetā** - everywhere is covered with the leaves of the wild yam

(source: Gill, 1876; 316-7)

3. Harvesting kāka‘o

In the second month of the Māori year, known as Otunga, the ‘hills are covered with reeds in blossom” while in the fifth month known as Muri‘ā‘ā, the old calendar notes “ruru anga kāka‘o” - “the reed blossoms are scattered by a late blow” presaging winter.

These months – roughly January to April - are the flowering season of the kāka‘o reed. Allan Tuara recalls that during these months, “Men, women and children [1] wandered over the Mangaian hills to pull out the kāka‘o.”

Papaiti Parima recalls making early morning trips with her mother (Mama Noora'a Papatua, known as Makeni - *see photo page 172*) up to the hills near their pineapple plantations in puna Kei'ā. Makeni knew exactly where to go during kāka‘o flowering season - the shady and flat areas that produced the longer stems of kāka‘o. For the weavers, the longer the reed the better. Allan Tuara recalls that “The green reeds were cut to a length of about 60 cm.”

The unwanted flowering end of the kāka‘o was cut off and the remaining stems saved in a pile. In early 1955, Don Marshall observed “the tops [flowers] of the ferns [reeds] gathered by women for hats, stripped off in piles of rubbish”, that littered the paths over the Mangaian hills (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes* 1954-55; 411).

The stems were split in half and the core of the stem exposed. Mrs. Parima remembers sitting in a shady spot in the hills, biting through the stem, then using her hands to pull the reed in half.

After a day in the hills, the women and children returned home with bundles of split reeds, the size of the bundle indicating the success of the day's harvest.

[1] Children’s interest in the kāka‘o reed derived from the reed's use as a teka or dart in the game of pākāka‘o (dart throwing). The harvesting of the kāka‘o for this purpose usually occurred around August. According to Dr John Numa, there were several different types of darts on Mangaia - “One was 7 feet long and another 3 feet long. Both were of two types - that thrown underhand with the forefinger, and the other propelled by a long cord wound around it, and having a tail to guide it through the air” (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes*, 1954-55; 410). See Buck (1927; 335-40) and (1934; 149-152) for a more detailed description of the teka game. Also Appendix 1 below.

Historically, kāka‘o reeds were also harvested and lashed together with ka'a or sennit to form the reed walls of a house. A Mangaian account of the war between the Ngariki and the two sons of Tevaki notes - "e koapa kāka‘o te Ngariki me aere i mua i te taua puruki"- "the Ngariki were like closely woven walls of kāka‘o as they went towards the battlefield".

Kāka‘o reeds were also used as "rods over which rau 'ara [pandanus] thatch leaves are folded and sewn" (Mason, 2015; 283). Kāka‘o were additionally used to make reed blinds. The ceiling of the Oneroa Sunday School building, when it was used as a government school, was made entirely of reed-screens designed to dampen heat from the iron roof.

Stripping and bleaching kāka‘o



Mama Kimipapa Tutai Terepa'i uses a knife to remove the i'o or pith of the kaka'o reed on a papa rākau or wooden board (Photo - Whistler, 1990; 360).

4. Stripping and Bleaching Kāka‘o

On 18 March, 1955, the anthropologist Don Marshall attended a Saturday afternoon basketball game on the sports field outside the Oneroa church. Among the spectators were “the women who had been to the mountains last week for reeds for hats and were now splitting these while watching the game - others were doing others sorts of handiwork, including crocheting, patchwork sewing, plaiting etc.” (D.S.Marshall, *Field Notes*, 1954-55; 261).

The split reeds would later be placed in a tray inside a box, usually a returned Makatea phosphate worker’s “suitcase” – a wooden box, about 60 cm high x 60 cm wide x 90 cm long that was issued to indentured workers on arrival at Makatea Island to keep their clothing and small items safe. These “Makatea suitcases” or a standard household “glory box” provided an ideally-sized container for bleaching kāka‘o reeds.



A jar of sulphur powder found in Aberahama Pokino's old store, Kaumata, by Mama Tere. It was burned to create sulphur dioxide to bleach and fumigate the tō.

(Photo - Allan Tuara)

Some yellow sulphur powder was placed in a used corned beef tin containing hot embers from a cooking fire. The smouldering sulphur was placed under the tray of reeds and the lid of the box closed. Burning sulphur generates sulphur dioxide which has the smell of burnt matches (phosphate-tipped match-sticks having been treated with sulphur to speed ignition). The coined-word māti or 'match' was used to describe both the yellow sulphur powder and the sulphur treatment process.

The box was kept closed for two or three days, sometimes longer. Sulphur dioxide is, among other things, a reducing bleach and a fumigant. The māti process whitened the reeds, now called tōtea [white tō] while also fumigating them against mildew, fungus, insects and rats.

After this, the reeds were cleaned of their core. Papaiti Parima recalls using a to'e pare or wooden hat block as a platform to scrape off the inner white pith of the stems with a knife. It is the outer skin of the kāka‘o that is required for weaving.



A surviving "Makatea Suitcase" containing a bundle of stripped kākā'o reeds in the possession of the Revake family. A tin of sulphur powder, ignited within the box, produced sulphur dioxide to bleach and fumigate the reeds (Photo - Tearo'a Revake)

The outer skin was scraped on both sides at the same time with a knife to make the ribbon pliable. All this required quite a bit of work. The result was a 6-7mm wide pliable ribbon — and these ribbons were rolled tightly and tied together and stored for future use. When needed, they were peeled off singly and, if thinner strips were required, for example, in making rosettes for a hatband, they were stripped to size with the point of a needle.

The strips of tō were also dyed if the hat design required it. Commercial dyes were used, as well as the purple bark sap of the Ūtū - the mountain plaintain - while pink, green and purple dyes were obtained by immersing office carbon paper in boiling water. A yellow dye was obtained from renga or tumeric.

A well resourced ta'unga would have multiple rolls of different coloured tō stored at home. According to Don Marshall, the prepared tō was "preserved in boxes - lasts all year, but yellows" (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes* 1954-55; 558).



(Above) Ngatokorua Rere and John Trego waiting for the boat taking Mangaian workers to Makatea Island, 1955. The wooden box with handles being used as a seat was known as a "Makatea Suitcase" - see also image previous page. Each man returning from the Makatea Island phosphate works, invariably brought back with him a trunk containing his personal possessions. The phosphate workers also brought back additional trunks containing presents for family members, the trunks themselves being highly valued gifts. Prior to this the only people on Mangaia who had trunks were the old men who had once worked in Tahiti. Trunks provided a lockable private space to store items that people didn't want to share or have used by other family members. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



The 'uapou and new hat designs



Mrs. Raera Tua'u, wife of Tua'u orometua of Titikaveka, then pastor at Oneroa, Mangaia. Note the white lining of the pare tō. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

5. The 'uapou and new hat designs

The season for the flowering and harvesting of the kāka'o reed coincided with Christmas and the April 'uapou, the two times of the year when new hats designs were publicly displayed. Christmas and New Year's eve were also marked by the composition of new hymns or imene.

The 'uapou is an after-church meeting held as a rule every Sunday, but more recently only on Communion Sundays - 'Ōro'a - or 'special' Sundays.

The 'uapou took place in the Mission House, or in the meeting house of each of Mangaia's six puna or districts. In the formal part of the 'uapou, the leader puts forward a passage from the Bible or a religious text and members of the group attempt individually to explain the meaning of the passage and the leader's intention in setting that particular passage. At the end of the 'uapou, the leader attempts to encompass all the views expressed as a shared understanding.

The word 'uapou denotes striving to find knowledge. Rōta'i means to unite in body, mind and spirit, to be of one intent or purpose. In the 'uapou, the puna focuses its thoughts upon a single subject or purpose, individually, then collectively.

Singing plays a major role in this informal type of worship as does feasting. On occasions the 'uapou involves districts or puna visiting each other - the teretere 'uapou. Such occasions are marked by an umukai. At Christmas and April, the three puna residing at Oneroa join together for a combined 'uapou. This used to rotate between the three puna's meeting houses but is currently held in the Oneroa Sunday School hall. In Tamarua and Ivirua, the rotation was among sub-divisions of the village.

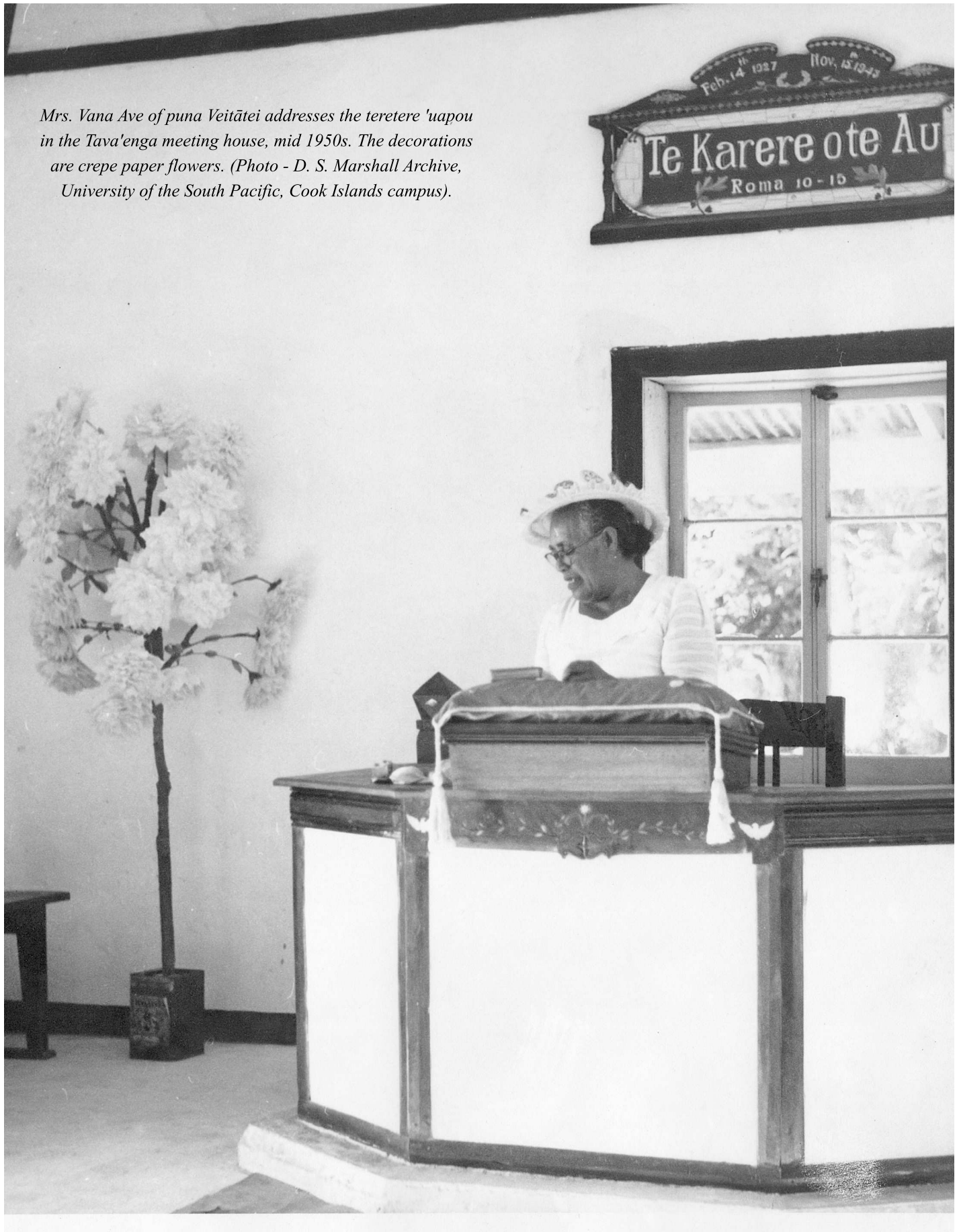
For the Christmas and April 'uapou, a ta'unga raranga pare (expert hat maker) from each puna was tasked with creating a new hat design. This design was then copied and worn by all the women of the puna – each of the six puna having its own distinct design. The six new designs were premiered at the April and Christmas 'uapou - a total of 12 new hat designs every year.

The women of the puna wearing the same hat provided a public demonstration of rōta'i - the people of the puna working together as one. This is similar to the practice of each puna wearing a distinct pattern and cut of cloth on island-wide occasions - identical for all puna members but distinct from other puna.

Walking through Kaumata village in early March 1955, Don Marshall met Mrs Tuaongo Koroa who “was starting to work on a hat design for the ‘uapou ...all women [in her puna, Veitātei] will wear the same design of hat” (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes* 1954-55; 241) .

Marshall recalled that the hat design process began in early March. He speculates that the 'uapou didn't start earlier in the church calendar “probably due to the effort put into composing songs for New Years and Christmas...” (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes*, 1954-55;119).

Mrs. Vana Ave of puna Veitātei addresses the teretere 'uapou in the Tava'enga meeting house, mid 1950s. The decorations are crepe paper flowers. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands campus).



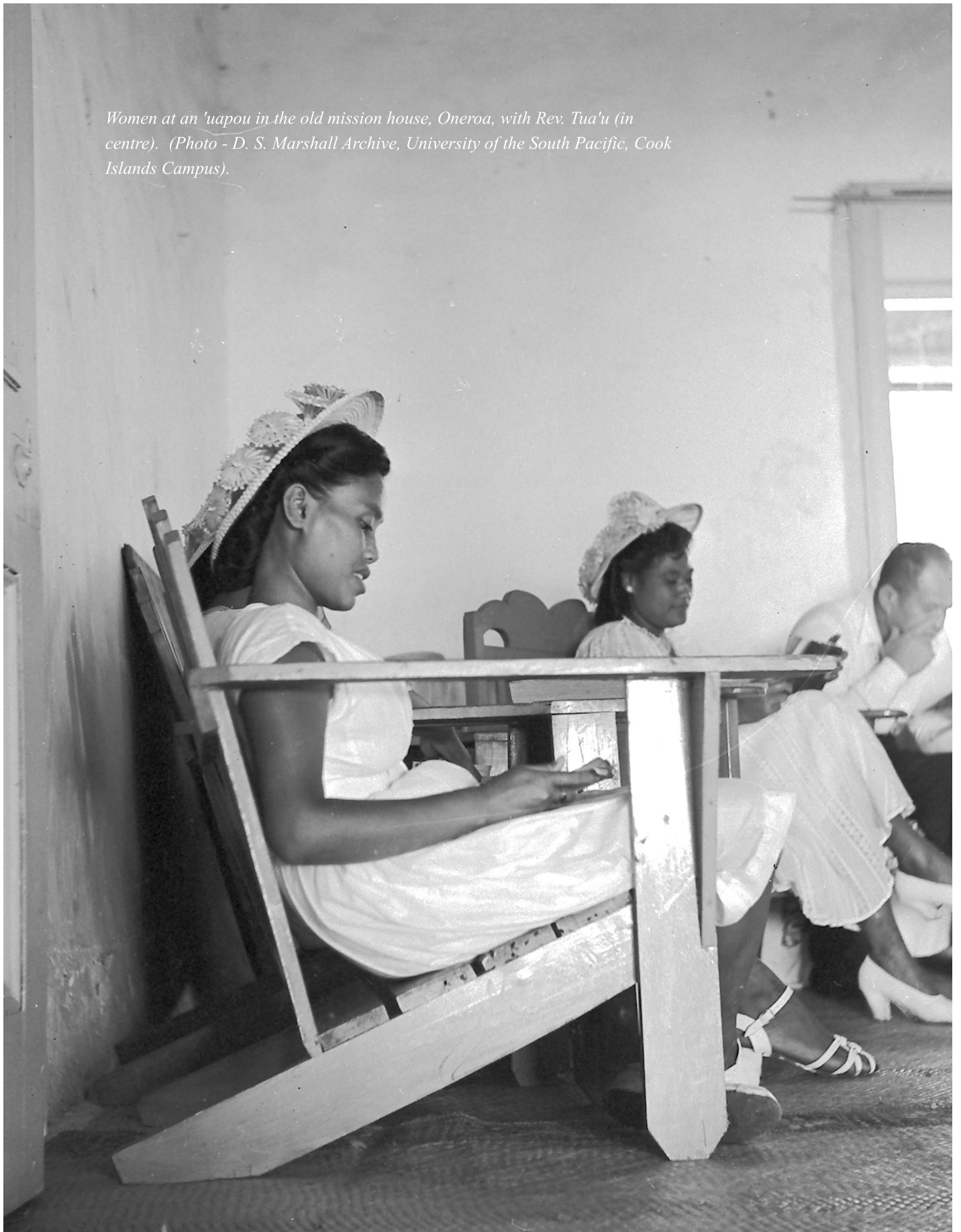
(Right) - expert hat maker, Mrs Tuaongo Koroa of puna Veitātei with her daughter Aranui (left).



*Women from puna Veitātei wearing Veitātei's,
then current, hat design.*



Women at an 'uapou in the old mission house, Oneroa, with Rev. Tua'u (in centre). (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).







*Tangi Raveora of puna Kei'ā wearing the puna's then current pare tō design.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*

Mrs. Tamaunu Ma'arona with Mrs. Shirley Marshall and Ann Tylor, (daughter of the then New Zealand Resident agent on Mangaia, Bill Tylor), wearing their 'uapou hats. Most of the hats in the Marshall Collection (Section 11 below) were gifted to Shirley Marshall and one of Ann's hats is also in the collection (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).





This page and facing - Members of the 'uapou, the women wearing pare tō, outside the Sunday School Hall, Oneroa. (Photos - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).





'Uapou feast, Tava'enga meeting house, mid 1950s - puna Tava'enga hosting puna Veitātei teretere women wearing their new hat design. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



*Mrs. Ngametua Tomokino/ Ngamokopuna in the puna Tava'enga's then current pare tō design.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*





Puna Kei'ā women being hosted by Puna Veitātei - (left) Mrs. Tutai Motuone and (centre) Mrs. Ta'atu George.

*(Above and previous page) - "Tables all set out in usual Mangaia fashion, with rows of taro roots down centre, and these covered with fish of all varieties, pork, chicken, etc., - a hacked-open tin of meat between each ... and many bottles of tai 'akari, some in whiskey bottles with original [label] Ballentines still showing young girls and children waving flies away from table." (Marshall Field Notes, 1957-8; 1037)
(photos - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*



(Above) "Some women had families with them and ate food there, (did not eat together but sat in small groups)" Papa Tiriamaï standing outside the Kei'ā meeting house. (Next page) Veitātei group being hosted at the Kei'ā meeting house. (Far left seated) Rania (far right standing) Ma'arona kavana of Veitātei. (Photos - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



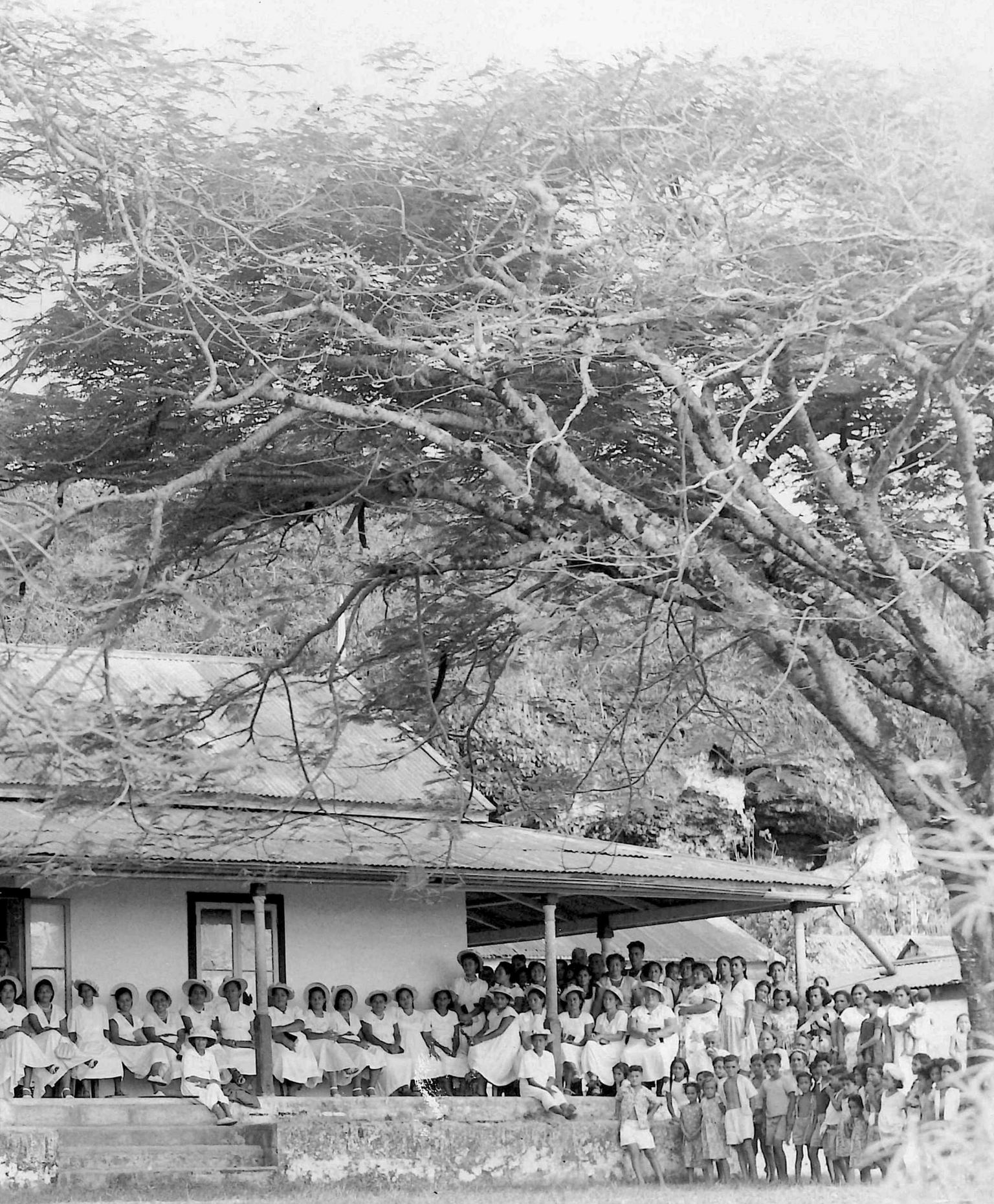
"Our Veitātei group ...hung around shyly at the end of the path leading to the meeting house. Women from within had been giving the 'aere mai as they hove into view and continued to do so - they waited, talked together shyly at the end of the path, then came up the path. As they came Tiriama (who was with them), greeted them formally. Ma'arona was in charge, with black coat and white trousers, as was Teata and many of the others. They came on the porch and started to eat immediately. Despite all the food, they hardly made a dent in it.... Usual speeches by Mrs. Are, Tiriama, Mrs. Tua and reply by Ma'arona. After men enter [the meeting house] they washed at a basin or tank and then stood around gazing or chatting ... while table cleared away from the front porch and seats put back inside. As this was being done, two long rows of leaves [were] put out in the back of the house and on these [were] put the taro in appropriate number of bunches. Mrs Tua, with the ever present notebook, as the principal women distributed the remaining pork, fish, chicken, tinned meat, bread to each bundle. Young girls doing dishes. After the separation [of food] made, the names of people to take the bundles were called (just as when we sat at the table, Mrs. Are called out the seating arrangement). Some women had families with them and ate food there, (did not eat together but sat in small groups) - some sent it home. Hardly had they finished than we were gotten together in the meeting house for the regular program Tangi Brown in the chair." (Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 1037-8)



*Mr. Ave (back left) and Rev. Tua'u (back right) with members of the Veitātei teretere.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*

*Teretere 'Uapou, 1958, Tava'enga Meeting House
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South
Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*









*The orometua, deacons and their wives, Oneroa Ekalesia, 1957
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*

*Mrs. Ave of Puna Veitātei - expert hat
maker, braiding plain and dyed tō for a
man's hat. (Photo - D. S. Marshall
Archive, University of the South Pacific,
Cook Islands Campus).*



Ta'unga raranga pare

Expert Hat Makers



Veitātei hat-makers - (left to right) Nancy Glover, Taviria Toru Ara, and Tuaongo Koroa - weaving tō into plaited strips from which the hat is assembled. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

6. Ta'unga Raranga Pare

Expert Hat Makers

A partial list of expert hat makers of the 1950s is as follows, with apologies for any names omitted -

Puna Veitātei

Ave Va'ine

Kataina Va'ine

Tuaongo Koroa

Nancy Glover

Taviria Toru Ara

Ma'arona Va'ine

Mai Va'ine - (innovator - said to have "discovered a new type of hat making").

Puna Kei'a

Nēnō Va'ine

Ngatamariki Harry

Maki'ātea Va'ine

Metuava'ine Atariki

Noora'a Papatua

Aumetua Ngaro

Puna Tava'enga

Ngā Vi'i Va'ine

Ngai Va'ine

Tomokino Va'ine

Vai 'imene Va'ine

Mrs. Rima'ati Areai

Tangi Brown Va'ine

Ngaro Va'ine



*Mrs. Tuaongo Koroa, puna Veitātei.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University
of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*

Puna Karanga/Ivirua

Teremoana Vaipo Va'ine

Mama Araturi

Mama Upokoongo

Mama Rauaua

Mama Metuaivi

Mama Turiongo

Puna Tamarua

'Tinirea' [1]- Ngatokorua (Kimireva) Pauteao Parima

Tuaengata Kimora

Makikiriti Aerepo

Vaineturuma Taomia

Ngavaevae Robert

Metuaivi Rima

Miipurunga Teau

Taku Amataiti

Takaviri Tupo

Moemaki Naaroa

Timiroe Inga

Varu Peraua

Pati Tangiomataiti

Tuapikepikē Mataakama

Makieke Teaurima

Teina Takia

Tututangi Vaineiti

Tangi Taureka

Ta'unga designed the hat - then women of the puna, often in groups, made the hats according to the agreed new design. The process was not always straightforward. Don Marshall (*Field Notes*, 1956-7; 928) noted of the April 1957 Veitātei 'uapou - "Veitātei women were troubled whether to follow Mrs Ave's hat plan or Mrs Koroa's - but [these are] not the ones others want!!! Women rikiriki ['little people'] can't talk - know that if she talks, big trouble. So she says, no talk. The Veitātei kavana's wife didn't talk. In puna Kei'ā [the kavana] Are's wife [design was] picked out."

[1] 'Tinirea' = 'Cinderella', a joking name for Mrs. Parima who was always dressed in the most recent fashions, made from pattern cut-outs sent by her sisters overseas.



*(Left to right) Tungane Mareangareu Tai'ia and Tungane Kore Aerengamataora-Tai'ia ('Mama Timirae') braiding tō.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*



*Mrs. Ave, expert hatmaker of Puna Veitātei
plaiting tō into hat braids. (Photo - D. S.
Marshall Archives, University of the South
Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*

To'e Pare Hat Block



(Above) Man's hat block; and (facing page) woman's hat block - both in the collection of Mrs. Teremoana Tangianau Tutu. (Photos - Allan Tuara).

7. To'e pare - Hat Block

Hats were manufactured on a hat block, or to'e pare, a carved cylindrical block usually made from the light and durable Tou tree (*Cordia subcordata*).

A hat maker (ta'unga raranga pare) would rarely own more than two blocks, one for men's hats and one for women's. The women's hat block was distinguishable from the men's as slightly smaller in circumference and shallower in height.

Despite being prized possessions, different sized hat blocks were always available to a wider group of hat makers. When a different size block was needed, it could be borrowed from another hat maker in the Manganian custom of 'shared ownership'.

Adjustments to the size of the crown were made during a fitting or fittings.



Hat making



*A Singer treadle sewing machine - 'āuri tui parai or 'āuri tui takataka'i
- could be found in many homes.*

8. Hat making

Pare tō were made from long braids of plaited tō. A number of weaves might be used in making braids -

Vana pukupuku - a rough, lumpy or muscular weave

Vana keke - a weave with a saw tooth edging

Kata 'itu - a braid (*kata*) made of seven (*'itu*) strands of tō woven together

Vana toru - a very fine hat braid made up of three strands of tō woven together

Vana tara'ā - the 'comb of the cockerel' weave [1] (*see photos over page*)

The crown of the hat - the to'e pare - was formed first.

Tuitui rima ua te to'e - *paruparu* (weak), *angiangi/ra'ira'i* (thin or fine).

The braided tō was placed on the to'e pare (hat block), carefully twisting it around the block to form the shape of the crown. The braids were then sewn together by hand. The crown was generally left plain.

Te tui o te uka, tuitui rima e te tui 'āuri.

The brim (tau pare) was sewn by hand (tuitui rima) or with a sewing machine ('āuri tui parai). Singer treadle sewing machines ('āuri tui takataka'i) were commonplace in many homes.

The whole hat might be sewn by hand, but only the brim was machine-sewn.

Next the decorative elements were added. If these were in the form of a hat band they were referred to as tākai. A tākai (band) generally comprised a series of rosettes, backed by a finely spun web of very thin tō. The rosettes are referred to by the names of the flowers they represent - tiare māori (gardenia), mātirīta (daisy) [2], etc. The tassels are known as purūmu, the coined word for 'broom'. The small rounded decorative shapes are known as poroporo - referring to the small round berries of the American black nightshade (*Solanum americanum*). The fine plaited strands of tō used for loops and bows are known as vīvī or 'chains'.

A white hat, once completed, would be bleached again (minus its tākai or decorative band) in the bleaching box. A cloth lining was added to some hats (*see photograph page 36*).

[1] Shibata's Manganian Dictionary (1999) defines tara'ā as "N. the crest of a rooster (A design of hat for women)".

[2] Mātirīta is coined from 'Marguerite', the daisy (*Chrysanthemum frutescens*) but today is used to refer to all daisy-like flowers of which the white, multi-layered petalled *Chrysanthemum X morifolium* is preferred for garlands.



(Above) The kata rima weave and (below) the vana toru weave; in these examples pandanus strands have been used. (Photos - Allan Tuara)





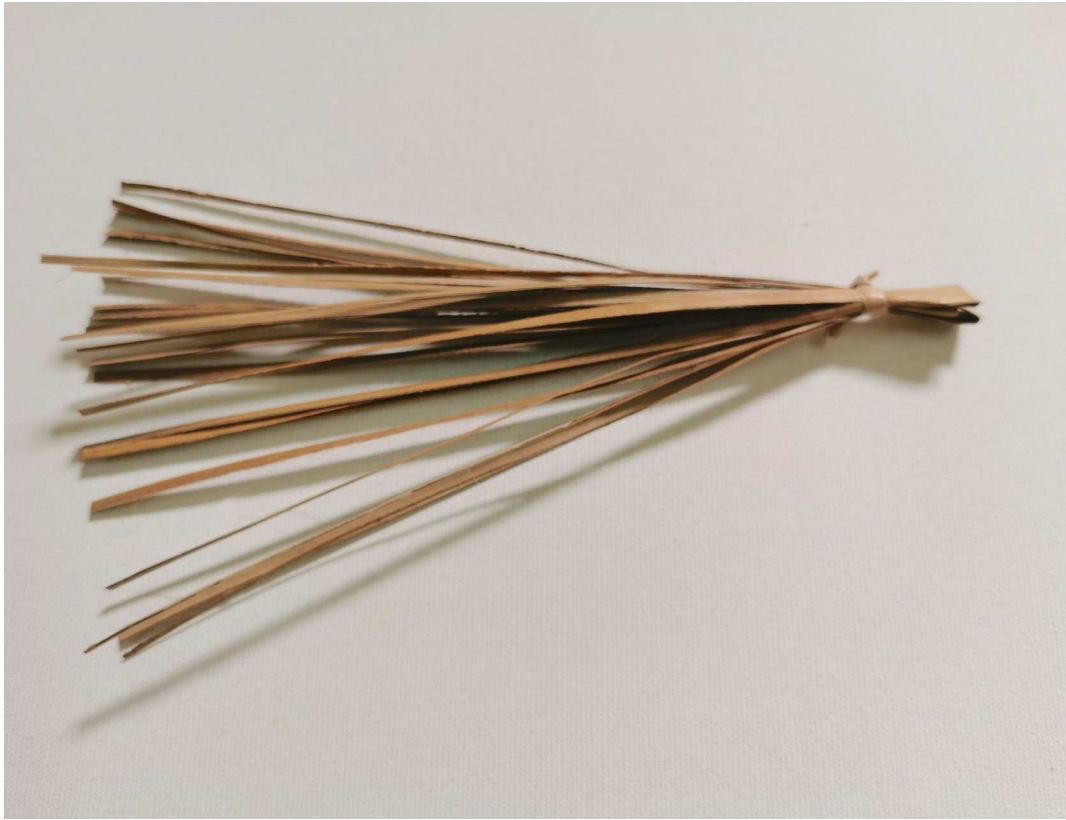
*(Above upper) - the vana keke or taut weave and (above lower) the vana pukupuku weave;
(Below) the vivi or chain weave. (Photos - Allan Tuara).*





(Above) The etu or star motif and (below) the tara'ā or cockerel's comb weave. (Photos: Allan Tuara).



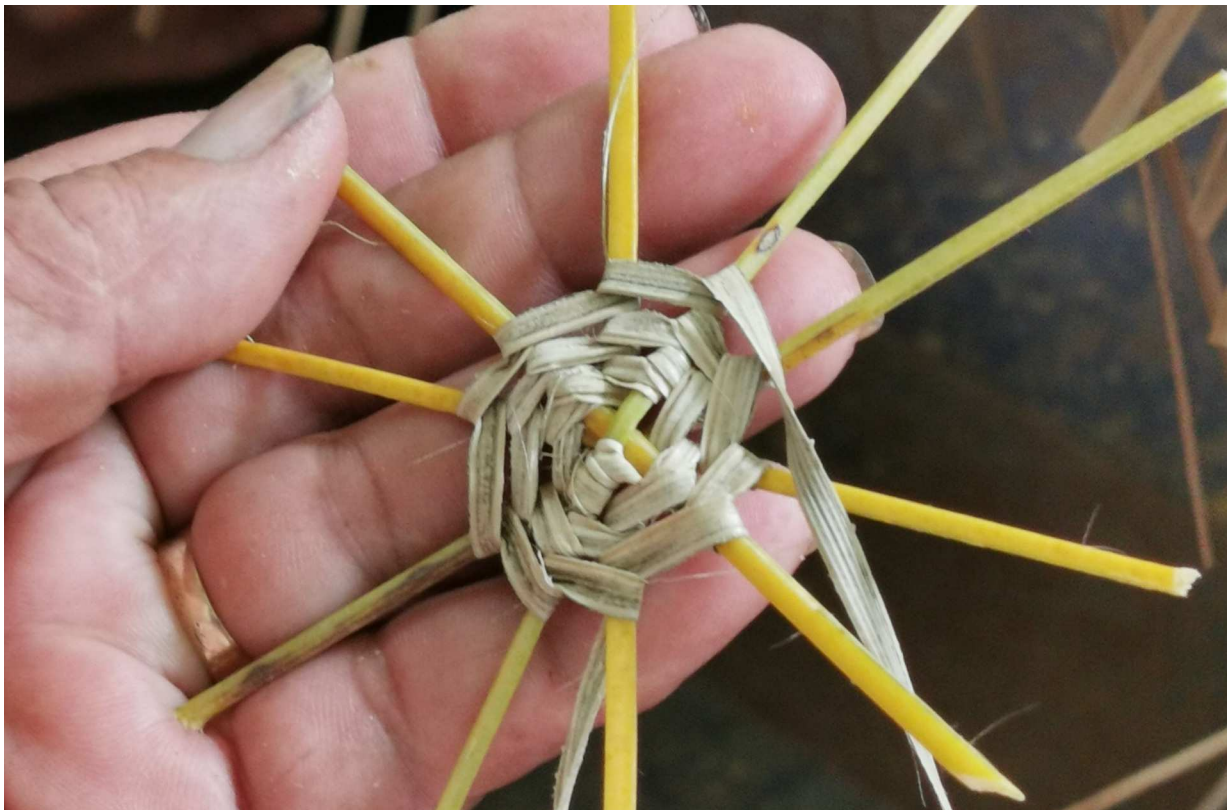


(Above) a simple purūmu or "broom" motif and (below) poroporo or "berries". (Photos - Allan Tuara).





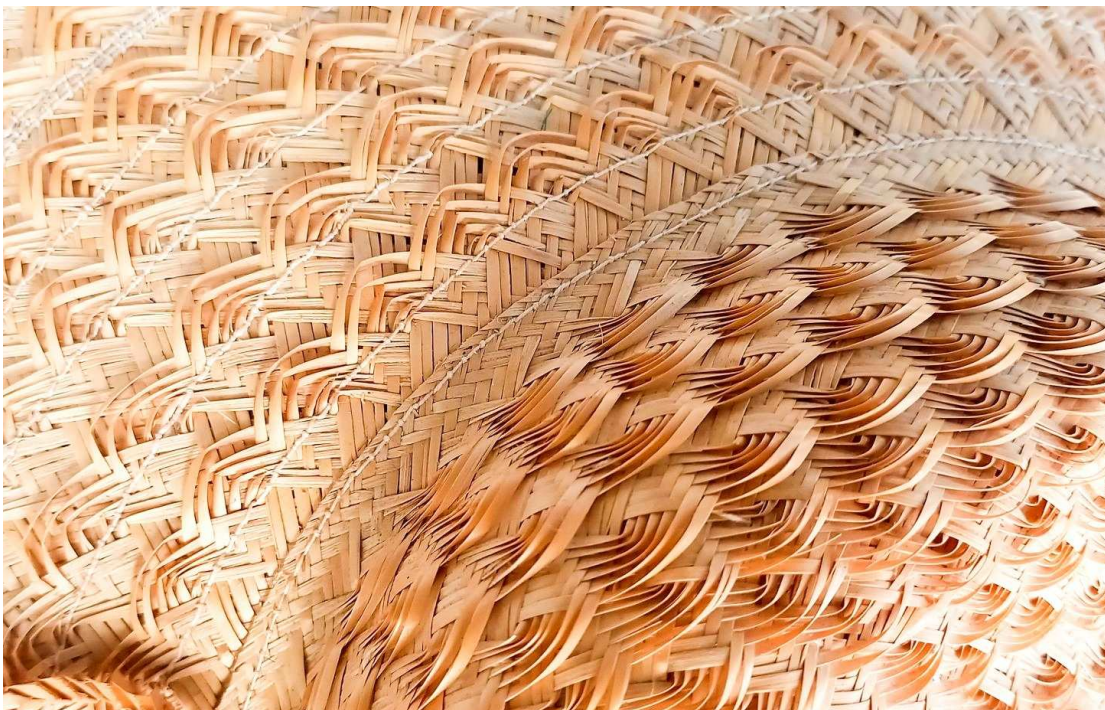
(Above, below and overpage) creating a decorative tiare for the hat band or tākai. (Photos - Allan Tuara).







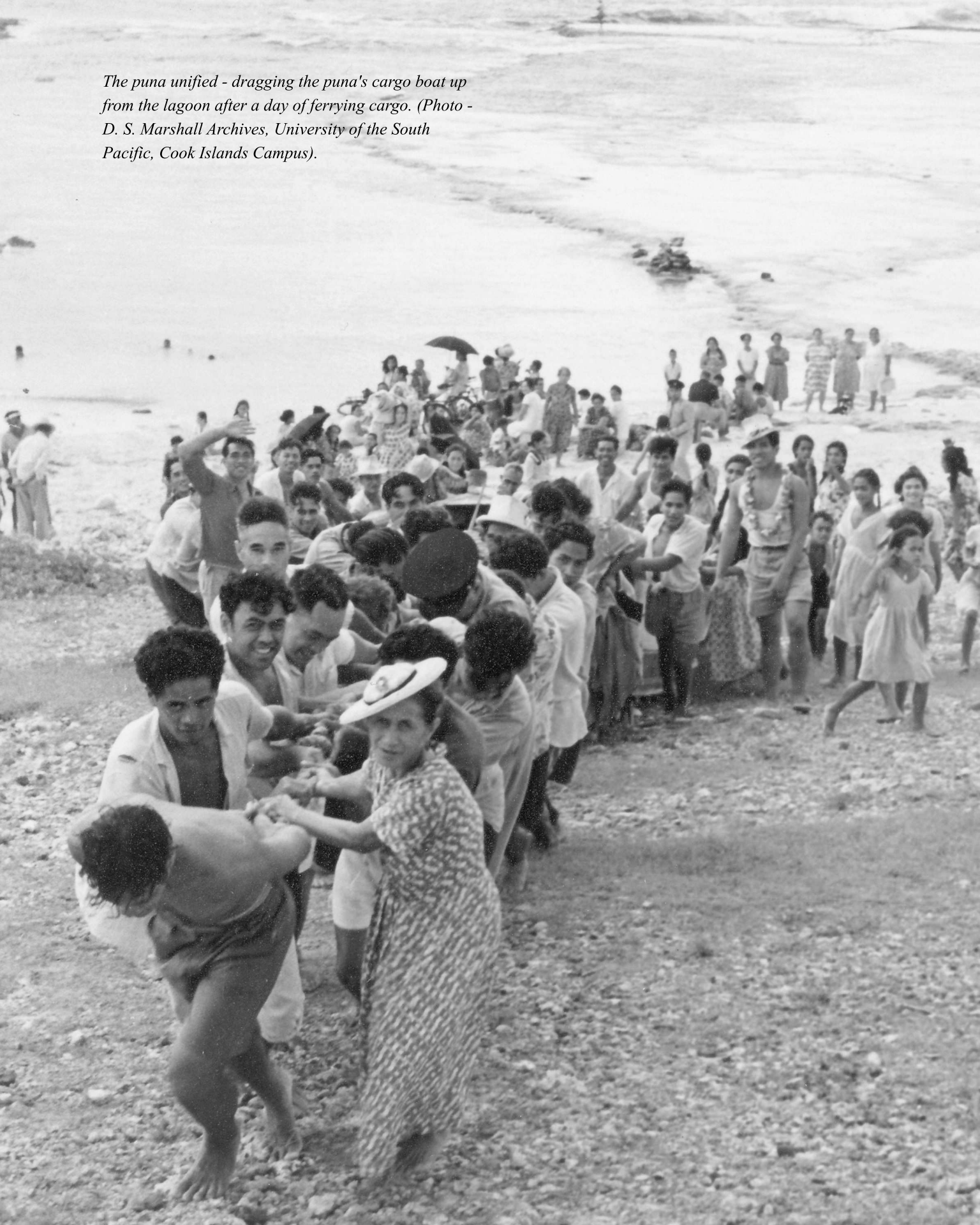
Above - hand stitching on the crown and (below) machine stitching on the brim of this pare tō.





The vana toru weave seen on the edging of the brim of this pare pāpā. (Photo - Allan Tuara).

The puna unified - dragging the puna's cargo boat up from the lagoon after a day of ferrying cargo. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



Social and Cultural Significance



In the Cook Islands Christian Church or Ekalesia, only women and girls - not men - cover their heads for worship. The common explanation on Mangaia is that "women's heads are sacred." The relevant scriptures are contained in 1 Corinthians 11:5 -15 and 1 Timothy, 2: 8 - 10. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

9. Social and cultural significance

Decorative hats were special to church (Ekalesia) and puna occasions.

In church, on a normal Sunday, only those that are members of the Ekalesia and only females wear hats for worship.

An exception is made for those women and girls who are non-Ekalesia but wish to join the teretere/puna 'uapou, when one puna visits and is hosted by another for the 'uapou.

Me iki ia koe e te akatere puna vaineretini ei kake no te teretere mati/uapou, ka ropa ia noou pare ei mono noou i te pure a 'ia 'i. Noatu e are koe i te Ekalesia.

The puna va'inetini (or women in-charge) will select the women and young girls to join the teretere (visiting group). Those selected, regardless of age or Ekalesia status, may wear their new puna hat to pure a'ia'i or afternoon service only.

Decorative hats were (and continue to be) a 'badge' of membership of the Ekalesia. While each of the six puna competed with each other in hat design, they remained united (rōta'i) as members of the island-wide church body. Decorative hats additionally signified puna membership - each puna having its own distinctive style on display at the two most significant 'uapou of the year, the 'uapou itself being an expression of the solidarity of the puna, the Ekalesia and through the teretere 'uapou, the island itself.

Hats were rarely sold but were often gifted as part of the social economy of Mangaia (see Eimke and Kuchler, 2009). This included visiting puna members occasionally exchanging hats with host puna members during the teretere 'uapou.

Jean Tekura Mason recalls that their consequent rarity made Mangaian pare tō "the most prestigious of hats and every Cook Islands' woman aspired to own one" (2015; 283).

"My grandmother, the former Mata Metuaiti/ Tauri (Ngapoko Kairae) only had one and it was the most precious thing she owned. She'd take it off immediately it started to drizzle. I remember thinking how funny and flat they looked sitting jauntily on women's heads because they weren't made to fit the whole head at all. These were the days women were still using hat pins (they needed them to fix them to their hair). But I sensed the hats were not only hard to get but hard to make and looked quite delicate."



(Above and following page) Presentation of pare tō to Lady Freyberg, wife of Governor General of New Zealand, Sir Bernard Freyberg, and to a member of her party (extreme right), Mangaia, July, 1948. Mrs. Isobel Jean Ryan (wife of the Resident Agent of Mangaia) in centre. (Photo - Turnbull Library, 39916).



(photo - Turnbull Library, 39917).



*Detail of hat presented to Lady Freyberg's companion -
hat band shows a series of Maltese crosses surrounded
by coils of tō.*



Presentation of O.B.E. to Major Win Ryan (Resident Agent of Mangaia) by General Sir Bernard Freyberg, Governor General of New Zealand, Mangaia 9 July, 1948. On extreme right, Lady Freyberg wearing Manganian pare tō (Photo - Turnbull Library 39920). (Tangi ariki is on the right in a white suit.)



*Detail of Mangaian pare tō presented to Lady Freyberg,
featuring Maltese crosses surrounded by coils of tō. .*



*Mama Mataiti Moeauri wearing a pare tō as everyday wear.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook
Islands Campus).*



This page and facing - pare tō worn on puna work occasions - here loading soft coral (punga) onto the lime fire (umu punga). (Photos - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).







10. Pare Collections

Auckland War Memorial Museum

Item details

Description - Hat made of fernland reed, *Miscanthus floridulus*, kāka'o. Hat band is kāka'o rosettes. Constructed by machine sewing lengths of decoratively plaited bands into form of hat.

Place - Mangaia

Accession Number - 1956.173.2

Accession date - 25 November 1956

Other number - 34765, 34765.2, 1956.173.2



Pare kāka'ō, Mangaia, Cook Islands. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. 1956.173.1, 34765.3.



The weave is vana pukupuku; the flower pattern is mātirīta (daisy); the tassel is purūmu, the coined word for 'broom'.



*Interior view, Pare kāka 'o, Mangaia, Cook Islands. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.
1956.173.1, 34765.3.*







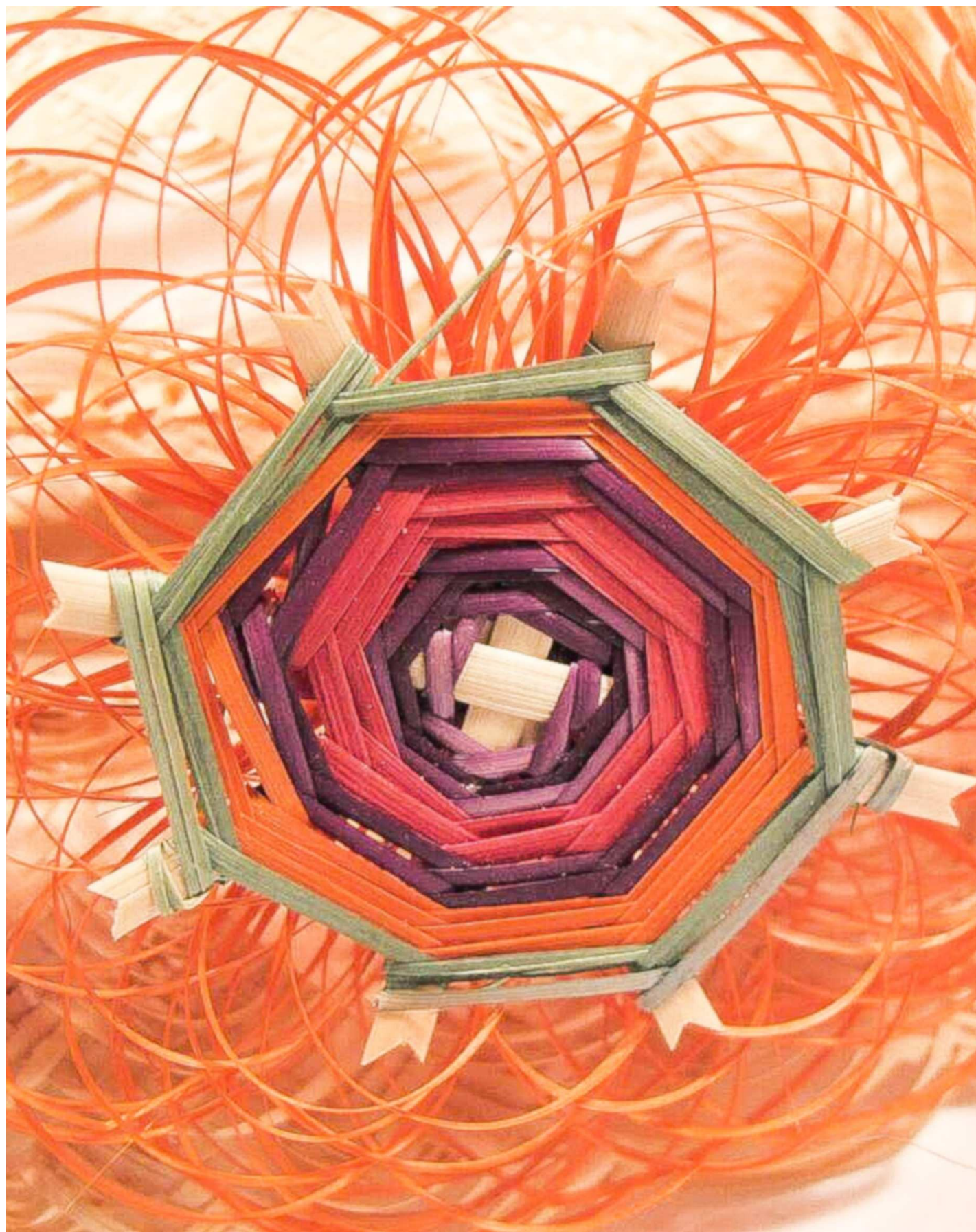


The small rounded shapes are called poroporo or berries. Pare kāka'o, hat. Mangaia, Cook Islands. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. 1956.173.1, 34765.3.





Mātirīta (daisy) motif
Pare kāka 'o, Mangaia, Cook Islands. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.
1956.173.1, 34765.3.



Auckland War Memorial Museum

Item details - Pare kāka'o

Description - Pare. Hat. In style of 1950s semi profile women's hats with coloured flowers along one side. Constructed by machine sewing bands of decorative plaiting into form of side profile hat. Decorative elements also of kāka'o.

Place - Mangaia

Accession Number- 1956.173.3

Accession date - 25 November 1956

Other number- 34765.3, 34765, 1956.173.3

Fernland reed, Miscanthus floridulus

DIMENSIONS - Whole diameter : 254mm

Collection of Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira, 1956.173.2, 34765.3





Pare kāka'o, Mangaia, Cook Islands. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. 1956.173.1, 34765.1.





Pare kāka'o, Mangaia, Cook Islands. Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. 1956.173.1, 34765.1.



Pare tō, Marshall Collection

Marshall Collection



Hat gifted by Mrs. Rape Are (Ngatamariki Tomokino) daughter-in-law of the kavana of Puna Kei'ā, 1958.

The Marshall Collection

Donald Stanley Marshall was an American anthropologist who undertook field research on Mangaia on three occasions - 1951-2, 1954-5, 1957-8. On his last visit, arriving 13 November, 1957, he was accompanied by his wife Shirley, their daughter Mira, son Lance and infant child Moana. On Mangaia, Marshall developed a close working relationship with Pe Mautairi, (his chief informant), and with the people of Kaumata and, in particular the chief of Veitātei, Ma'arona kavana.

On his family's departure in April 1958, a large number of pare tō hats were gifted to Mrs. Marshall by women in the puna Veitātei, Kei'ā and Tava'enga. At least two hats were also gifted to the Marshalls' daughter Mira and appear in the collection below.

The names of the women who gifted these hats, where identified by Marshall, are recorded in the captions accompanying the photographs below. Marshall makes the following comments in his field notes for the day immediately prior to his family's departure from the island -

Friday 11 April [1957] - ...Women arriving with invitations to more Umukai and others with more hats and presents for Shirley Evening in packing interrupted with continuous calls by women etc., to give Shirley hats. Manihiki hats from Melanie [Mama Melanie Harry] was loveliest I have ever seen. Ngaro came late with Va'e bringing two mats, a lovely one, hats and a pillow case - all fine - as usual helped to pack - I couldn't get all the hats in!! Two mats, hats, etc., from Pu'ati and Ngai's vaine" (D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 941).

Subsequently, on Marshall's own departure in June 1958, he received further gifts including -

"Mani Mani presented me with a man and a woman's hat on behalf of the teachers..."

Sunday, 7 June, 1958 - "Mr. and Mrs. Ma'arona - mat, hat band

Mrs. Vai'imene - hat, hat band

Teachers in Ivirua - 2 hats, hat band

Moeara - 2 hats, hat band, carry bag (Atiu)

Pu'ati - Deacon's hat

Mrs. Ngai - Hat band

Pokino - hat band, shell

Ngaro - 2 hats

Veitātei women - 2 hats, 2 bands."

(D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 1065, 1067-8)

On the Marshall family's return to their home in Danvers, Massachusetts, Mira Marshall recalls that "most of the hats were packed away in the family's attic. A few were used on a regular basis." Mira still has the hat she sometimes wore to Sunday School, complete with the velvet ribbons her mother Shirley sewed in so she could tie it securely on her head. "Moana also remembers wearing one of the hats to church, particularly Easter." When the family moved to Alexandria, Virginia in 1963, after Marshall returned to active duty with the U.S. Army, the hats moved with them, into the attic of their new home. After that home was finally sold 54 years later, in 2017, (Don Marshall having passed in August 2005) the hats moved to Mira's house. In January 2020 she began the process of finding the collection an appropriate home and approached the Auckland Museum to inquire whether it might be interested in their donation. In her email to the Museum, Mira wrote -

"We would like them to find a home where they could be properly cared for and appreciated in their full cultural context. Your museum and its Pacific Collections seems like the appropriate place, especially given the number of people from Mangaia and other Cook Islands who now live in New Zealand. (Also, my father conducted some of his early Cook Islands research at your museum while in New Zealand on a Fulbright scholarship in 1951 - 52.)"

Shirley Marshall passed away later in 2020, but, Mira writes, "she would have been as happy as her daughters to know that the hats were going to the Auckland Museum. She also would have loved this book. One of Moana's enduring memories is Shirley expressing her appreciation for having received such lovely gifts, and for the care she was shown while on Mangaia."



(Left) Shirley Marshall, summer 1987, Nova Scotia, wearing a pare rito (right), possibly the hat gifted by Mama Melanie Harry. Note the vivi weave on the hat band, typical of Mangaian pare.



Pare tō labelled 'Kaumata' - one of the sub-villages of Oneroa, Mangaia, whose population is predominantly from puna Veitātei, 1957- 8.





*Pare tō gifted to Mrs. Shirley Marshall by Mrs. Ngaro of Tava'enga, 1957 - 8.
"Sunday, 2 February, 1958 - Shirley and I up for early service so she could wear Mrs. Ngaro's hat, before
wearing Mrs. Ave's hat to the Christening". (D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 733).*



Tiered pare tō gifted by Mrs. Tangi Brown, puna Tava'enga.

Don Marshall writes in his field notes that his main anthropological informant Pe Mautairi of Puna Veitātei informed him that "today [New Year's day] is a day when women want to wear 'everything new' and that sometimes women wear several hats, one on top of the other" (D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 591). The Oneroa orometua Rev. Bill Masters corrected this, saying that "the 'tier' of hats is actually one hat, with a brim made to look like several hats." (D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 593).



Pare tō gifted by Mrs. Ma'arona, wife of the kavana (chief) of the Puna Veitātei to Mrs. Shirley Marshall. Thursday 10 April, 1958 - "Ma'arona's wife came and spent evening with Shirley - brought her several hats including a Manihiki hat (a real treasure) from Ma'arona and an excellent Tivaevae" (D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 939).







(This page and next) Pare tō inscribed "Tottie from Tere-Moana", gifted to Shirley Marshall for her sister, "Tottie", 1958. This is the same design as the hat on the previous page. The interior view (above) shows the lattice-style weave forming the brim.





Pare tō gifted by Mrs. Ave of puna Veitātei, 1957 - 8.



A near identical pare tō (refer facing page) gifted by Mrs. Ave of puna Veitātei, 1957 - 8.



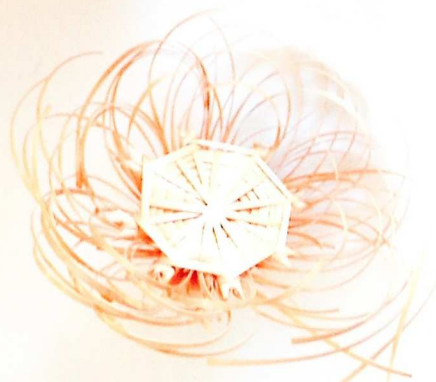
Pare tō gifted by Mrs. Rape Are (Ngatamariki Tomokino) daughter-in-law of the kavana of Puna Kei'ā, 1957-8. The close weave used in this hat is known as vana pukupuku (vana/weave, pukupuku/rough, lumpy, muscular).



Pare tō labelled 'Kaumata' - one of the sub-villages of Oneroa, Mangaia, whose population is predominantly from puna Veitātei, 1957- 8.



*Pare tō gifted by Ann Tylor,
daughter of the New Zealand
Resident Agent, Bill Tylor, living
on Mangaia June 1956 - 1 July
1958*





Child's pare tō - D. S. Marshall (Field Notes, 1957-8; 588) notes that at the time of the Christmas 'uapou, 1957, "Mira [his young daughter] was given another hat by Mrs. Ave." And again Saturday, 1 February, 1958 - "Mrs Ave arrived, bearing hats for Shirley and Mira to wear at the Christening tomorrow." This was the Christening of Clerk Mautairi. (D. S. Marshall, Field Notes, 1957-8; 732)





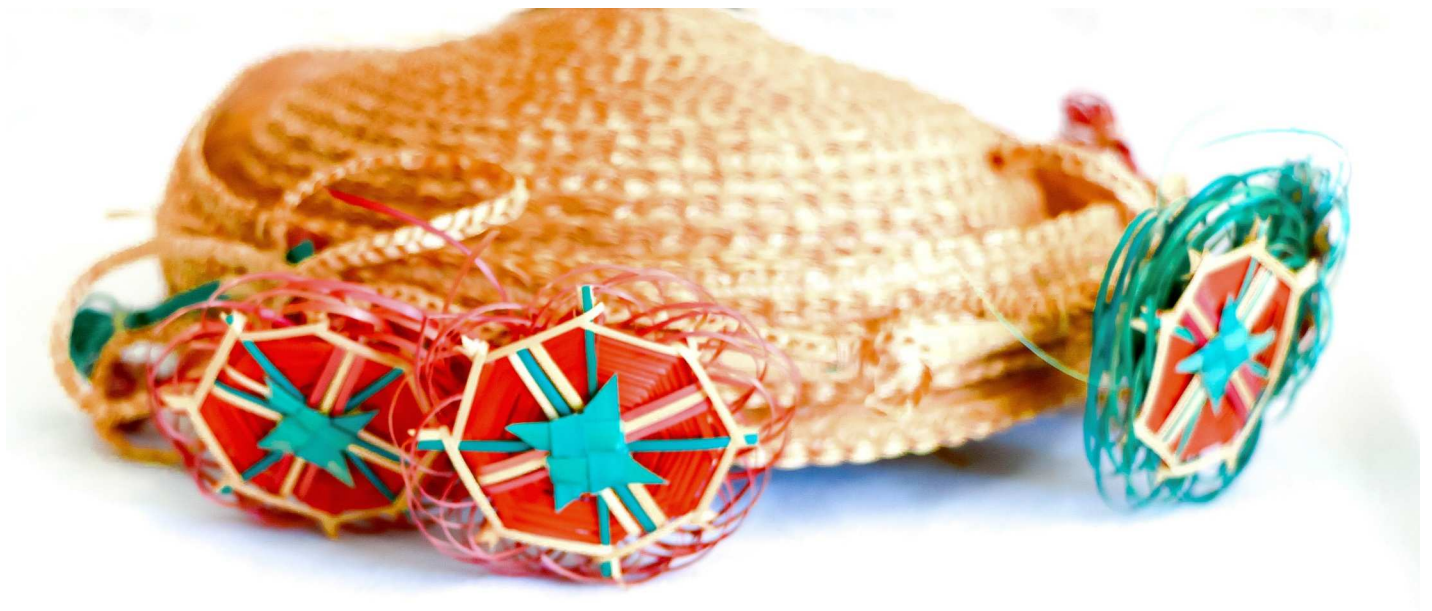




Pare tō gifted by Mrs. 'Toru' (thought to be Mrs. Toru Ara), an expert hatmaker of puna Veitātei.



Earrings of a similar design to the pendulous drupes of the hat band may have been worn with this pare.





Pare tō with etu or star pattern; purple dye obtained by boiling carbon paper in water.



Pare tō fascinator - green dye obtained by boiling carbon paper.

*Fascinator gifted by Mrs.Ngai of Tava'enga
1957 - 58.*





Butterfly-shaped pare tō (above) with tā'iri'iri or fan and tiare māori motifs. This is a distinctive tō weave referred to as "Pare tō ranga pae ia," or pare tō woven in a pae style, that is, like the border of a pandanus mat.



Pare tō ranga pae ia,



Pare tō in boater design

Te Papa Tongarewa

Museum of New Zealand

Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

Item details

Name - Pare (hat)

Production - Unknown; circa 1930; Cook Islands

Classification - hats

Material Summary - Kāka'o, Fernland Reed, Miscanthus floridulus

Dimensions - 115mm, 370mm, 400mm

Registration Number - FE008434

Credit line - Gift of Mrs E. M. Paterson, 1954



Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

Item details

Name - Pare (hat)

Production - Cook Islands

Materials - Plant fibre

Techniques - Weaving

Dimensions Overall - 90mm (height), 330mm (diameter)

Registration Number - FE007305/3

Credit line - Gift of Tairawhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga O Tairawhiti,
1975



Dome shaped pare tō with vana keke weave.

Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

Item details

Production- Cook Islands

Classification - hatbands

Materials - grass

Material Summary - Kāka'o Grass

Techniques - weaving

Dimensions - 170mm

Registration Number - FE007305/2

Credit line - Gift of Tairawhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga O Tairawhiti, 1975



An example of tākai - fine strands of iō, woven to create decorative flowers with a backing resembling petals or a fine web.

Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

Item details

Production - Cook Islands

Classification - hatbands

Materials - grass

Material Summary - Kāka'o Grass

Techniques - weaving

Dimensions -170mm

Registration Number - FE007305/1

Credit line - Gift of Tairawhiti Museum, Te Whare Taonga O Tairawhiti,
1975



An example of tākai - fine strands of tō, woven to create decorative flowers with a backing resembling petals or a fine web.

Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

Item details

Production - 20th century; Cook Islands

Classification - headdresses

Materials - plant fibre, Kāka'o Grass

Techniques - braiding

Dimensions - Overall: 410mm (length)

Registration Number - FE007597



An example of tākai - fine strands of tō, woven to create decorative flowers with a backing resembling petals or a fine web.

Cook Islands Public and Private Collections

Cook Islands National Museum



Pare tō tane, (man's hat) with a high crown and rolled tārae or headband made of pupu shells sewn on to rolled cloth, Cook Islands National Museum. (Photo - Allan Tuara).





(Photo - Allan Tuara)





(Photo - Allan Tuara)





*(Above) Pare pāpā, Men's pandanus hat with shell hatband. (Facing page) - detail of weave and machine sewing on brim.
(Photo - Allan Tuara)*





**Papatua-Smith
Collection
Rarotonga**





Mr. Papatua (Tuatiaki) Iorangi and Mrs. Noora'a Papatua ('Pakeni' and 'Makeni'). (Photo - Papatua Family Archive).

The Papatua-Smith Collection

This group of five hats are in the private collection of Mrs. Temokopuna ('Moko') Papatua-Smith of Rarotonga and Mangaia. The hats were gifted to Mrs. Papatua-Smith in the late 1950s by her mother Mrs. Noora'a Papatua, known as 'Mama Makeni'. The occasion was Moko's departure from Mangaia at the age of 16 years to return to New Zealand for further education.

All these hats were made by Mama Makeni for the 'uapou of puna Kei'ā in the years proximate to those in the Marshall Collection. A number of the designs have close affinity to the Marshall hats.

Mrs. Papatua-Smith recalls that the first pare woven from tō were plain white hats. Later, as the mama's became more skilled and creative, they produced more colourful and more elaborate pare tō.

Every home had an abundance of woven pare. The five hats Moko has cared for over 60 years, are, she says, "nothing compared to a normal household collection" of the time.

Mrs. Papatua-Smith's collection also includes a chest brought back by her uncle Rouru Iorangi from Makatea Island in the mid 1950s. This acted as a travel case when Moko left Mangaia. These sturdy wooden boxes were also used for bleaching tō with sulphur dioxide (*see above*).



(Photos - Va'ine Tutai Parima-Trego)



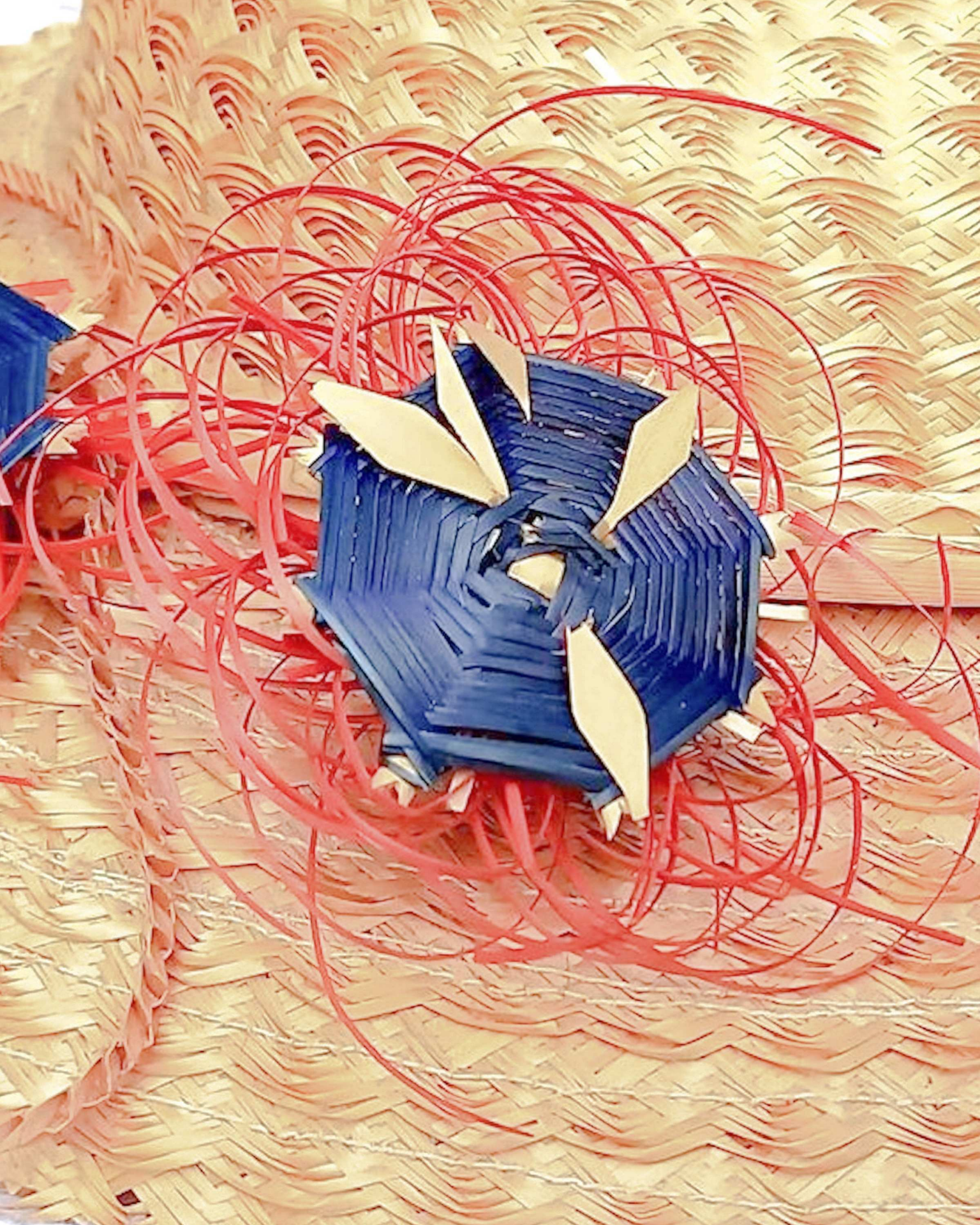




(Photos- Allan Tuara)

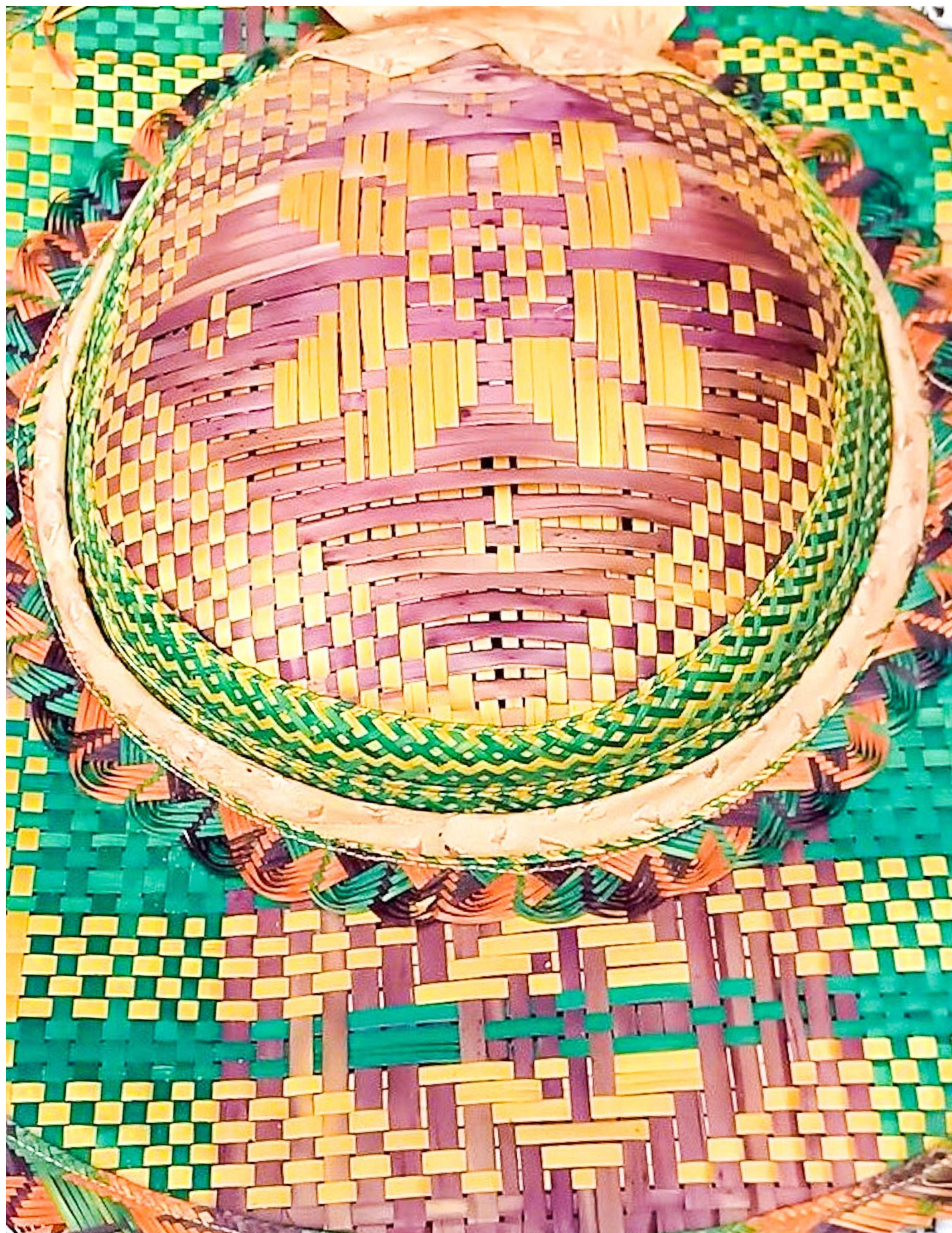


(Photos - Allan Tuara)





*The designs illustrated on this and the next three pages, show a tō weave known as "Pare tō ranga pae ia," or pare tō woven in a pae style, that is, like the border ('pae') of a pandanus mat - see also Marshall Collection.
(Photos - Allan Tuara)*



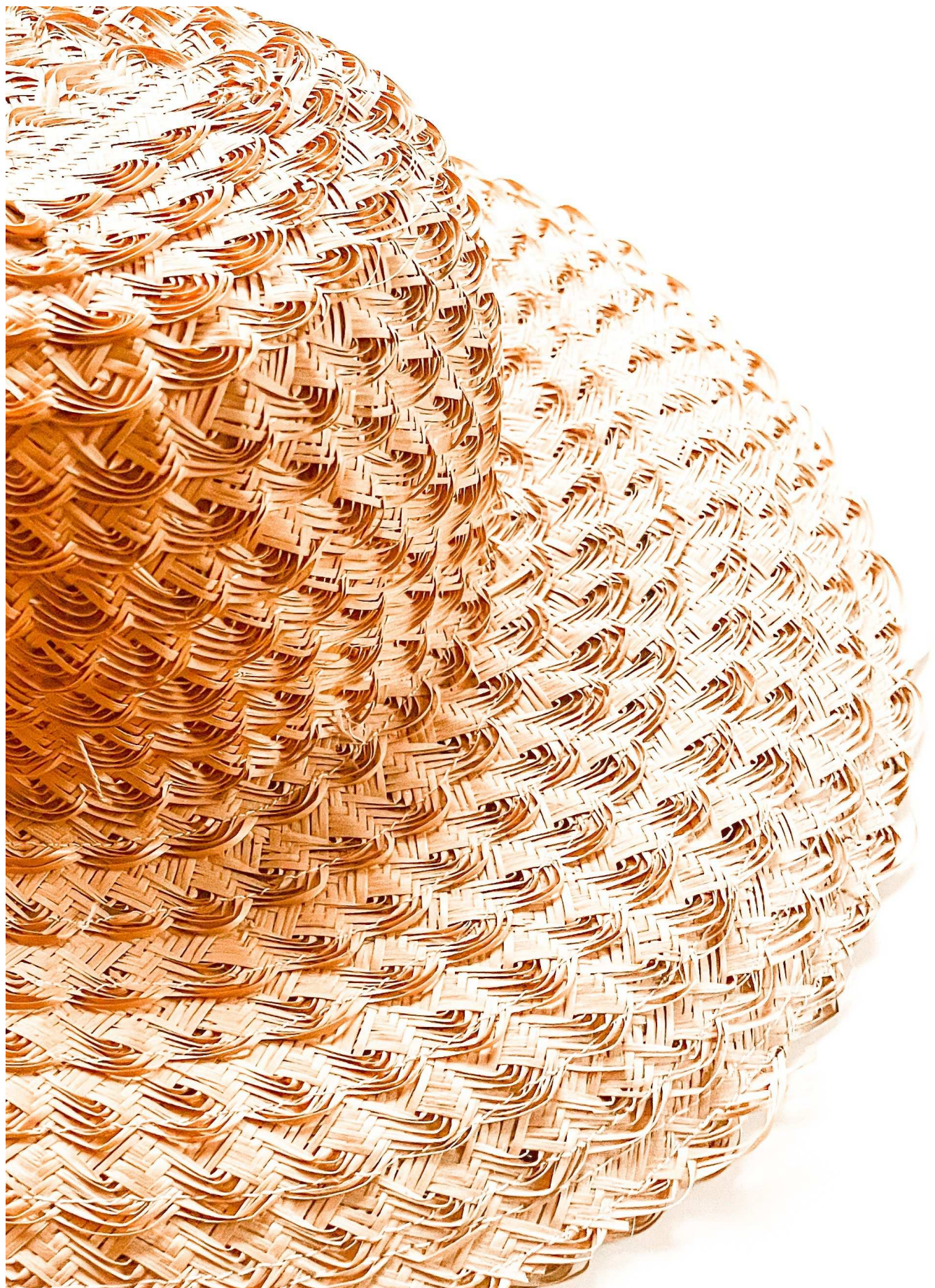


*The design of this pare tō ranga pae ia is closely related to a pare in the Marshall Collection (see page 143 above).
(Photos - Allan Tuara)*



Greta Little Collection

Rarotonga





*Pare tō gifted to Greta Little, on the occasion of her departure from Mangaia in 1964.
Geta's husband Jim Little was New Zealand's Resident Agent on Mangaia from 1961-64.
(Photo - Francis Little).*

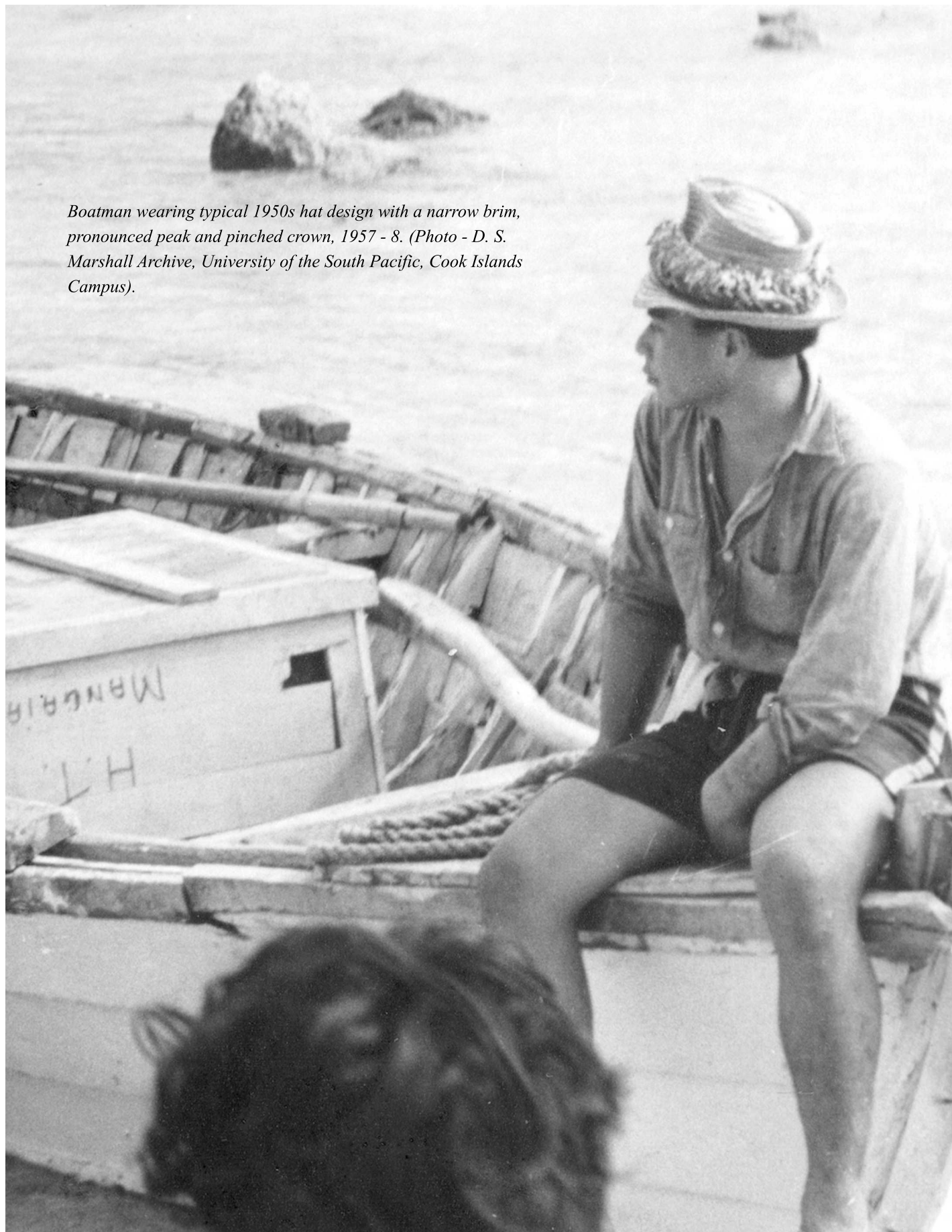


*Pare tō tane or man's hat made from tō with tārae or headband made from pupu shells, sewn onto a cloth backing, 1957-8.
(Marshall collection).*

Pare Tane

Men's hats

Boatman wearing typical 1950s hat design with a narrow brim, pronounced peak and pinched crown, 1957 - 8. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



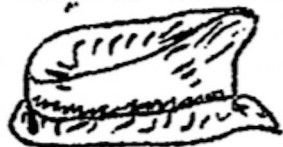
11. Pare Tane - Men's hats

According to Mrs. Metuamaru Gallagher, men's hats were also made from tō. This was in addition to locally made pare pāpā (pandanus hats), as well as rito hats, the latter also being made locally on Mangaia until recent times. However tō was a delicate material unsuited to everyday wear and was reserved for hats for special occasions.

In design, men's hats were generally higher in the crown, shorter in the brim and in the 1950s were often pointed at the front or peak of the crown.

European tattoos on arms -

lat →



*Sketch from D. S. Marshall Field
Notes, 1951-53; 138*

ahem in new ford - Took c

In the 1950s, Don Marshall recorded "Men with distinctive plaited hats, very small with high crowns, and narrow brims." Often these were decorated with "vividly colored shell and ribbon bands" (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes*, 1951-53; 138).

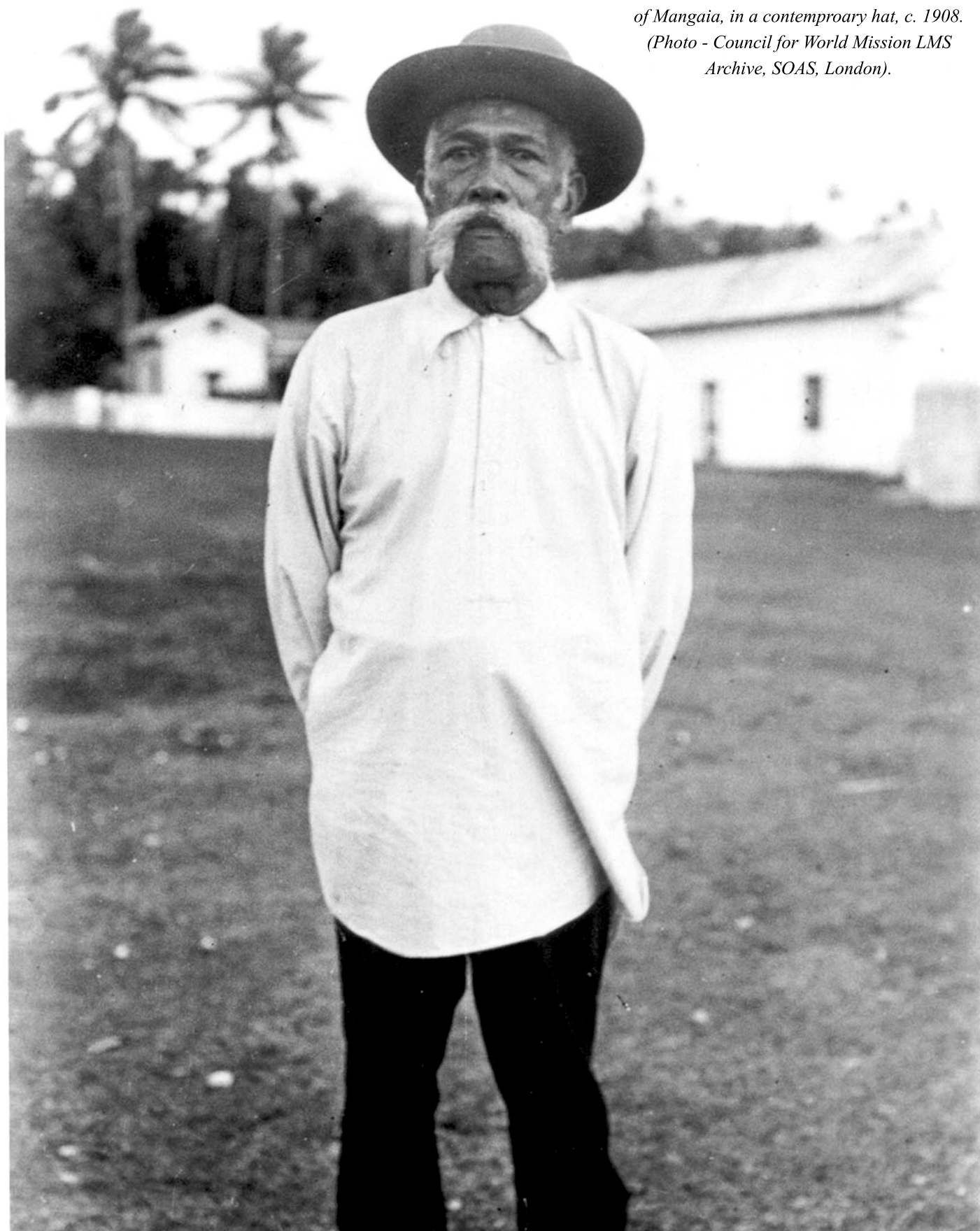
No two hat decorations were alike - "some a mere string of the fruit of the pandanus, (segments of bright yellow-orange), some white flowers, some variegated, some mixed with crepe paper" (D.S. Marshall, *Field Notes*, 1954-53; 141).

Marshall describes how one of his informants, Puati Ngatama, opened "his 'locked chest' and took out one of the types of men's Sunday hats - beautifully made like the Ra'ivavae ones - with a unique plaited hatband that I have never seen before" (D. S. Marshall, *Field Notes*, 1956-57; 720). He may be referring here to the "Deacon's hat" which was subsequently gifted to Marshall by Puati in 1958.

Marshall refers to "men's Sunday hats" and while men were not required to cover their heads in church, many did wear a hat for the journey to and from church.[1]

[1] In the 19th century, Rev. Aaron Buzacott, resident missionary at Rarotonga, noted that "The men....have coarse rush hats for daily use and better ones for Sunday." The same was true for mid 20th century Mangaia.

*Metuakore John Trego, one of the two ariki
of Mangaia, in a contemporary hat, c. 1908.
(Photo - Council for World Mission LMS
Archive, SOAS, London).*



Deacons of Mangaia Ekalesia wearing 'deacons' hats' outside the Oneroa church during the visit of the Governor General of New Zealand, Sir Charles Fergusson, 3 May, 1926. (Photo - Taoi Nooroa Collection).





Metuakore Rimataie of puna Tamarua wearing a pare pāpā made with finely woven braids of pandanus. (Photo - D.S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



Pare pāpā, Men's pandanus hat with shell hatband, Cook Islands National Museum. (Photo - Allan Tuara).



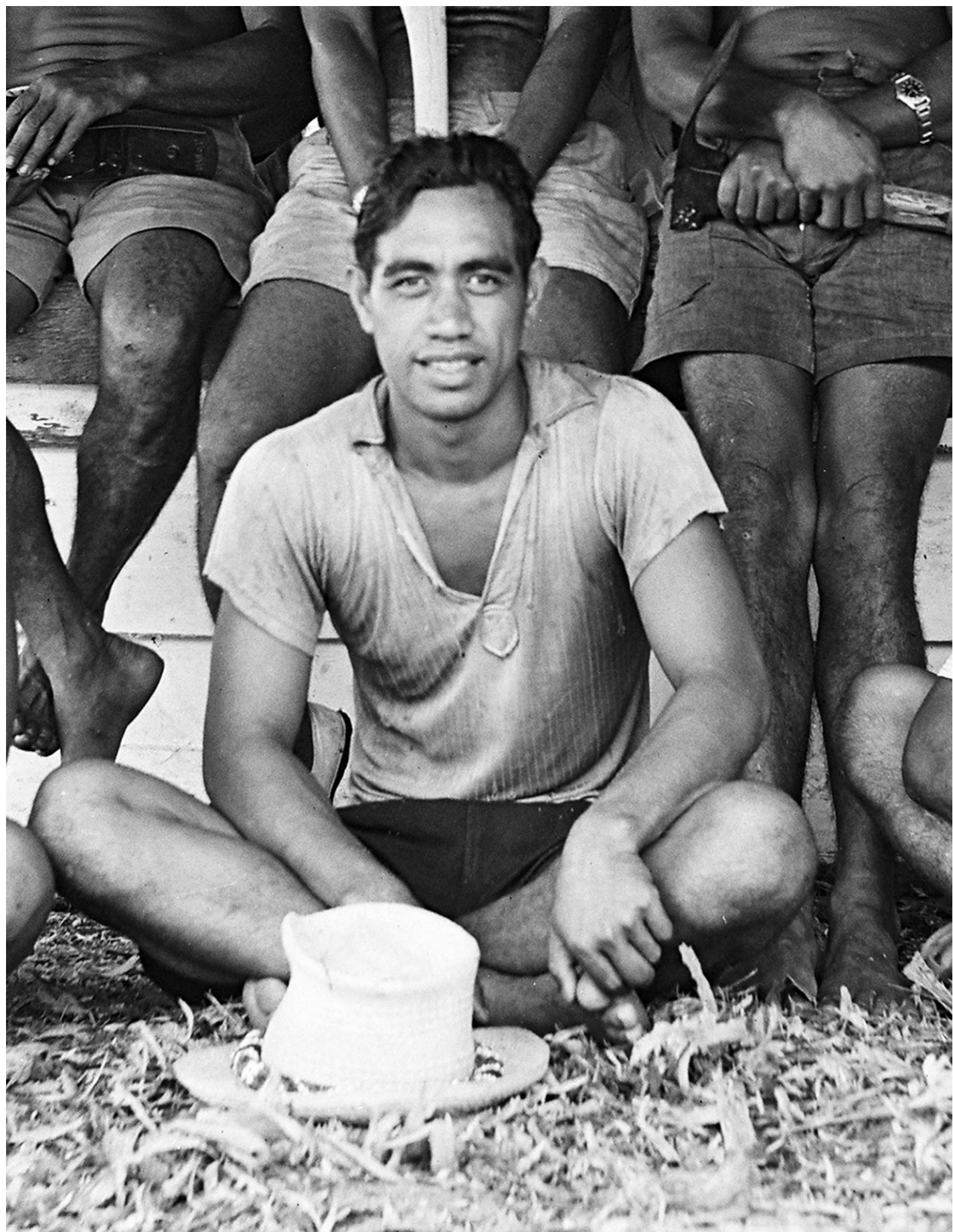
Papa Tuara Tua wearing a typical 1950s hat design with a pronounced peak and pinched crown, 1957 - 8. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



Pare pāpā, (pandanus hat) with a pronounced peak, shell hatband and decorative edging, 1958. (Marshall Collection).



Pare tō tane, with high crown and rolled tārae or headband made of pupu shells sewn on to rolled cloth, Cook Islands National Museum. (Photo - Allan Tuara).



*Pare pāpā, (pandanus hat), 1958. (Photo - D. S. Marshall
Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*

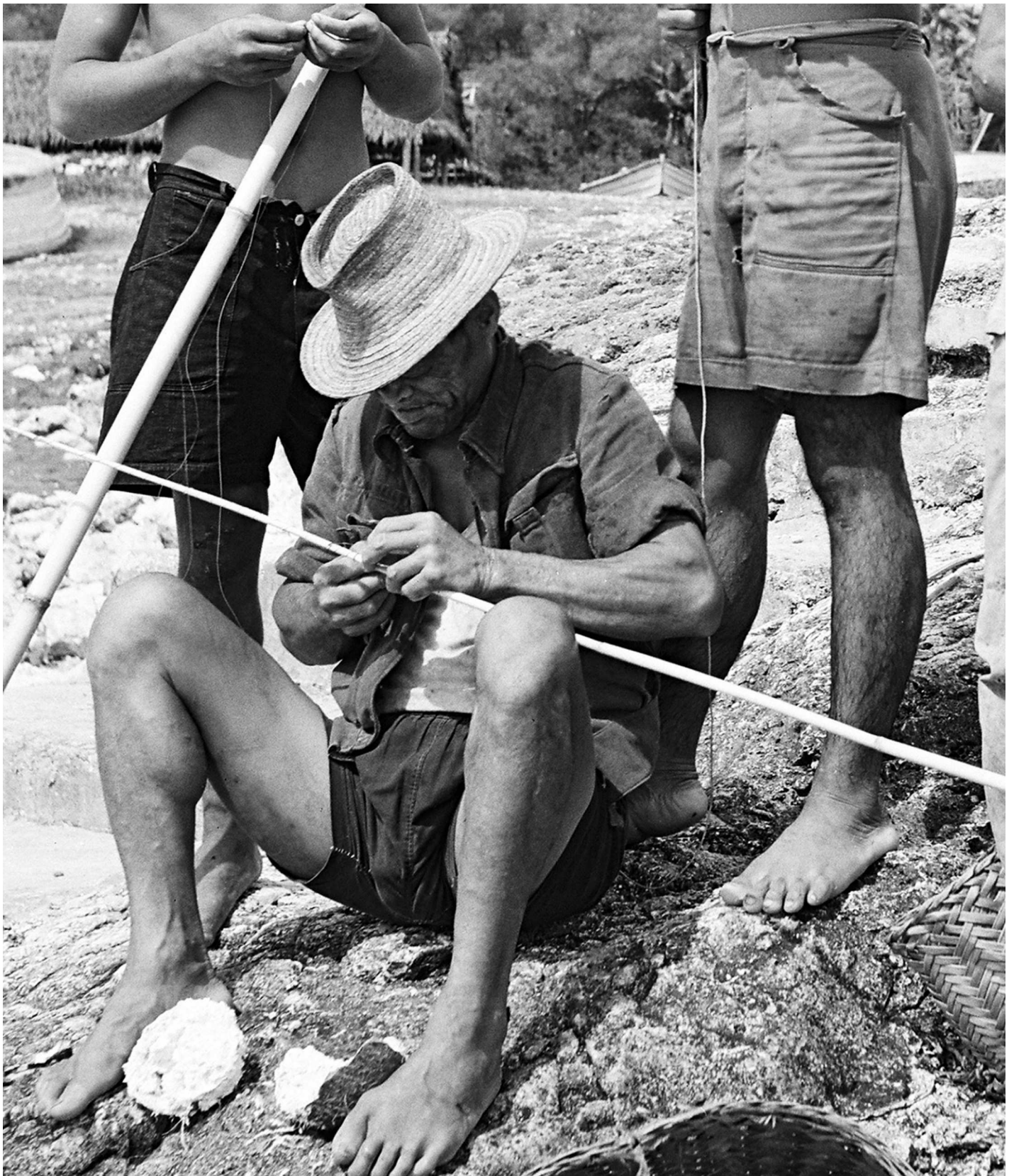




*Papa Rania wearing a pare pāpā, (pandanus hat), weaving kikau or coconut fronds, 1958.
(Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).*



*This man's pare pāpā has been transformed into a women's hat by the addition of a decorative edging.
(In the private collection of Mrs. Tangatakerekere Ruato'e). (Photo - Allan Tuara).*



Man's pare pāpā. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).



Bill and Betty Tyler, Mangaia 1957 - 8; Bill Tyler was New Zealand's Resident Agent on Mangaia. Betty Tyler is wearing a pare tō similar to the multi-coloured hat in the Papatua-Smith Collection (page 174 above) with projecting flower decorations. (Photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus).

Vocabulary of hats and hat-making

12. Vocabulary of hats and hat-making

‘Āuri tui kāka’u

1. (n.) a sewing needle (Syn. nira)

‘Āuri tui parai

1. (n.) a sewing machine

‘Āuri tui takataka’i

1. (n.) a treadle sewing machine

‘Iri

1. (v.) to braid, plait, twine or twist

‘Iri ‘iri

1. (v.) to braid or twine repeatedly

Kāka’o (pū kāka’o)

1. (n.) the mountain reed, used for hats and teka darts
2. (n.) a variety of reed-like grass; used particularly in the making of hats and in thatching and walling
3. (n.) an arrow, dart, spear (Mark15:36)
4. (n.) a wreath, garland, crown (Eastman, 1918)

Kata 'itu

- 1.(n.) a plait made of seven strands woven together

Ko’e

1. (n.) a pipe.
2. (n.) bamboo, pipe, organ, rod
3. (n.) the bamboo plant, in general
4. (n.) a fish-pole made of bamboo or any other substance such as toa or mā riri
5. (n.) prepared portions of immature bamboo used in hat making

Māti

1. (n) - match (coined)
2. (n) - yellow sulphur powder. When burned it creates sulphur dioxide and has the smell of a burnt match – hence māti

3. (v) – to treat with sulphur, sulphurize, against mildew, fungus, insects and rats

Nira

1. (n.) needle (Syn. tui)

Nira tui parai

1. (n.) a sewing needle

Pae

1. (n.) part
2. (n.) edges, sides, pae taro - banks or bund of a taro patch
3. (v.i.) the act (v) of decorating sides of mat with bright colours
4. (n.) design on a mat, hat brim

Pare

1. (n.) a hat (usually made of pandanus leaf), cap, mask
2. (v.) to catch
3. (n.) a lamp shade, lantern cap
4. (n.) a hat, either man's or woman's

Pare koai

1. (n.) a hat made for chiefs from the scented pua flowers and hung up in the house of the chief (Eastman)

Pare kura

1. (n.) a headdress of red feathers worn only by a chief of the highest rank (Eastman, 1918)

Pare pae

1. (n.) a pare tō woven in a pae style, that is, like the border ('pae') of a pandanus mat

Pare piki

1. (n.) a headdress made of feathers, worn by warriors (Eastman, 1918)

Pare tō kāka‘o/ Pare kāka‘o/ Pare tō (synonyms)

1. (n.) a hat made from the kāka‘o reed

Pare tupe

1. (n.) a topee or pith helmet, baseball cap [English, *topi*, *topee*; from Hindi '*topi*' - a hat or cap]

Pare uru

1. (n.) a headdress made of feathers, worn by warriors (Eastman, 1918)

Pare vae au

1. (n.) a helmet

Pine

1. (n.) a pin, of any kind, in this context a long sharp pin, to attach a hat to the hair

Pine rouru

1. (n.) hair pins

Rānga (raranga)

1. (v.) to plait, weave, knit

Rōta‘i – see ‘uapou

1. (v.i.) unite.
2. (v.i.) unite, to unite in body, mind and spirit, to be one / 'Uapou
3. (v.i.) to be of one mind, one intent, of a group of people, whether or not assembled or apart / 'uapou
4. (v.i.) to focus one's thoughts upon a single subject or purpose

Tākai

1. (v.) to wind; in the context of hat making, winding fine strands of *kāka‘o* to create the decorative flowers that resemble petals or a spider's web
2. (v.) to bandage

Tārae

1. (n.) a forehead shade. Originally, it was cap-like and did not encompass the whole of the head like the 'modern' flower *tārae* or Rarotongan '*ei katu*
2. (n.) a headband or chaplet of leaves, flowers, beads, etc, worn around the head
3. (n.) a hatband made from shells (*Rarotongan*)

Ta'unga raranga pare

1. (n.) an expert hat maker

Taupare

1. (n.) the brim of a hat
2. (n.) the eaves or porch roof of a house

Tau pare rikiriki

1. (n.) small-sized brim (of hat)

Tau pare ngao

1. (n.) large-sized brim (of hat)

Tau pare rotopu

1. (n.) medium-sized brim (of hat)

Taura tui parai

1. (n.) thread.

Tō

1. (n.) sugar cane, the general term
2. (n.) the young kāka‘o reed, harvested when blossoming for use in hat-making

Tō kāka‘o / Tō enua (synonyms)

1. (n.) a variety of wild sugar cane
2. (n.) reeds taken from the kāka'o plant, used for hats

Tō matie

1. (n.) a green variety of sugar cane
2. (n.) reeds used in hat making after having been dipped in a green dye

Tō tea

1. (n.) reeds for hat making which have been bleached to a white colour

To‘e pare

1. (n.) a cylindrical block or form for making either men's, women's or children's hats
2. (n.) the crown of a hat, not including the brim

Tui

1. (n.) needle
2. (v.) to sew

‘Uapou / see also Rōta‘i

1. (n.) an after-church meeting, or Bible class, held held as a rule on every Sunday evening. In the formal part of the ‘uapou, the leader puts forward a passage from the Bible and members of the assembly attempt individually to explain the meaning of the passage and particularly attempt to anticipate the leader's intention in setting the passage; singing plays a major role in this internal type of worship as does feasting
2. (v.) to come together with one intention as the people of a village
3. (v.) to strive, to strive after (Luke 13:24) (Phil. 1:27)
4. (v.) to seek knowledge (Savage, 1962)

Uka

1. (n.) the visor of a hat (uka pare)
2. (n.) the eaves of a house thatched with pandanus (uka ‘are)

‘Upenga

1. (n.) a fish net, the general term.
2. (n.) a web, such as a cob-web or spider’s web (pūngāvereverere or tukununga) – in this context, the repeated winding of fine strips of kāka‘o to form flowers for the border of the hat

Vana-keke

1. (n.) a braided hat material. Keke - saw or saw toothed

Vana pātara

1. (n.) a weave with a zig zag edging

Vana pukupuku

1. (n.) a very fine braided hat material. Pukupuku = rough, lumpy, muscular

Vana tara'ā

- 1.(n.) a weave resembling the serrated comb of a cockerel

Vana toru

1. (n.) a very fine hat braid of three strands woven together

Appendix I

The Teka Game [1] at Mangaia.

Edwin Gold, Mangaia

Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 64, No. 4, 1955; 490 - 91

A seldom seen Mangaian Maori pastime of very ancient derivation, which has an analogue in similar Australian Aboriginal exercises of skill and dexterity, is the *teka* game. Simple enough, this game consists of merely “skiting,” to use the old Scot's phrase, of a yard long reed at an angle along the ground. At Mangaia, tribesfolk show incredible dexterity with these slim reeds on the rare occasions when competitions are held. As far as I know there have been none for over twenty years.

Experts use a *kakao* reed, such as grows in the foothills of Mangaia, often away from visible water. The *kakao* form the rigid portion of the “laps” of pandanus thatch with which Mangaian huts are roofed. It is a slim and not over flexible yellow cane not quite as thick as a pencil.

There is no ceremony or ostentation that I have ever observed in thirty years about a *teka* contest. The competitors just arrive with their reeds to “skite” them in turn down the prepared grassy pitch of arranged length. [2] Many elect to cement the end of the cane with a local gum, obtained from trees. [3] This obviated the chance of splitting during flight.

The *teka* man takes his stand, holding the reed in a loose grasp with the right hand. The angle of delivery and the impetus that propels the *teka* are simultaneously adjusted as it leaves the launcher. [4] The slender reed, travelling miraculously on its tail at an angle of about fifty degrees, retains this angle until the impetus is totally expended, when it falls. Marks are granted for the descent at an angle only. If a *teka* should fall midway and arrive horizontal at the end of flight, derision would result. The aim is to send the reed the greatest distance at the correct angle.

Among children at Mangaia a propelled *teka* replaces the adult pastime. The reed has a thin strip of *au* bark wrapped around its lower end and is whisked vigorously on its way like an arrow. Such

[1] pā kāka'o - the dart game.

[2] ta'ua - the ground to be hit in the teka competition

[3] tāpau paina - pine tree resin

[4] pane - mound for teka. The mound from which the dart is bounced in the teka game.

improvement on the ancient test of manual skill would not be accepted at an adult contest.

There is a Mangaia legend, which I interpret as a tribal return to Mangaia after defeat in New Zealand. The *teka* of one Turi is alleged to have been cast to Ao-tea-roa, for which oddly enough Mangaians have no name, save perhaps Hawaiki. This *teka* was poetically propelled to New Zealand and probably flew back to the shores of Ahu-ahu again. We have here in Mangaia a number of place names that are also found in New Zealand and it is conjectured that some canoes returned from the colder land to the easier Polynesian climate. Possibly tribal warfare drove them back but there is no chant or legend existing about that. It is probably known that the former name of Mangaia was Ahu-ahu. The title of Mangaia (The Supreme Authority) seems to be a late name, the definition of which the late Te Rangihiroa gave me together with his own reasons for its becoming permanent. Ahu-ahu (sawn-off island) probably referred to the Mangaia plateau. The Mangaians had, from four original and possibly warring tribes poetically perpetuated as the Four Spirits, become a comparatively united nation. True unity in the modern sense, came with Numangatini, the first Christian king of Mangaia.

There is nothing complicated about a *teka* contest. It is easy to find a slim cane about a yard long and attempt the game. A hard won game of *teka* could be held on any cricket pitch. I think a pitch would be about right for length. The main difficulty is to skid the thin reed at the right slant with its end always, of course, on the grass or ground. A merely thrown *teka* is not acceptable. If it “hops” but one foot in flight the thrower is disqualified and he must throw again. There must be a swift, unwavering flight from start to finish. Full marks and much Polynesian social dignity will be accorded for that.

I have not seen a *pakeha* (or *papaa* in the islands—from the four layers of clothing, *e ā papa*) win a *teka* game or even cast the cane correctly. As one of the worst defeated in attempting it, I give full credit to my Polynesian tribesfolk for their skill.

Appendix 2 - Sulphurising straw

The Book of Trades or Library of the Useful Arts, Volume 1, printed in London in 1806 describes the preparation of straw and plaits for straw hats in a manner very similar to that used in the preparation of pare tō. Hannah Crook who helped introduce bonnet making in Tahiti in 1821 observed, "We have lately found the means to supply ourselves with bonnets, by taking the inner bark of the purau and splitting, platting and sewing it *as straw is used with us at home*" (Gunson, 1978; 275). The *Book of Trades* outlines the processes involved in making straw hat "at home" in the early nineteenth century.[1]

[1] In *Missionary Enterprises*, Williams (1838; 145) refers to missionaries consulting similar "publications upon mechanic arts, Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias" for instruction in the practical arts.



A Straw Hat Maker.

"The straw is cut at the joints and the outer covering being removed, it is sorted of equal sizes, and made up into bundles of eight or ten inches in length, and a foot in circumference. They are then to be dipped in water, and shaken a little so as not to retain too much moisture; and then the bundles are to be placed on their edges, in a box which is sufficiently close to prevent the evaporation of smoke. In the middle of the box is an earthen dish containing brimstone [sulphur] broken in small pieces: this is set on fire, and the box covered over and kept in the open air several hours. It will be the business of one person to split and select the straws for 50 others who are braiders. The straws, when split, are termed splints, of which each worker has a certain quantity: on one end is wrapped a linen cloth, and they are held under the arm and drawn out as wanted. Platters should be taught to use their second fingers and thumbs, instead of the forefingers, which are often required to assist in turning the splints, and very much facilitate the platting; and they should be cautioned against wetting the splints too much. Each platter should have a small linen work-bag.... and a piece of pasteboard to roll the plat round. After five yards have been worked up, it should be wound about a piece of board half a yard wide, fastened at the top with yarn, and kept there several days to form it in a proper shape. Four of these parcels, or a score, is the measurement by which the plat is sold. When the straw is platted it comes into the hand of the [hat-maker], who sews it together into hats, bonnets, &c. of various sizes and shapes, according to the prevailing fashions. They are then put on wooden blocks for the purpose of hot-pressing; and to render them of a more delicate white, they are again exposed to sulphur."

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From the early 1940s to the mid 1980s, hats made from the kākā‘o reed (pare tō) were favoured for church wear and became a focus of inter-district competition in design on the island of Mangaia, Cook Islands.

With the requirement that each district produce two new hat designs a year, Mangaian hat experts created in excess of 400 variations in design over the 40 year period that pare tō were in vogue.

This book explores how these hats were made and their significance to the Mangaian community and presents images of surviving pare tō in public and private collections.